CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN AN URBAN COMPLEX

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Dimension of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine what religious associations are doing to assist in making the modern urban complex a political community.[1] Religious associations have an important influence on this process of integration, because religious and political belief systems are the foundation of the political community.[2] Apparently in modern society religious and political leaders have not

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[1]Sebastian de Grazia, The Political Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 189. The intellectual articulation of what makes a political community has been the goal of philosophers since Plato and Aristotle. What is involved in this type of community was succinctly stated by de Grazia: " A political community exists among men who regard each other as brothers. But they will not think of themselves as a brotherhood until they have and avow filial love and faith for their ruler and for their God."

[2]In the United States particularly the belief system associated with business is a third belief system. Its competitive directive is in opposition to the directive of cooperation emanating from the other two belief systems.

been able to adjust the content of the belief systems sufficiently to cope with the physical developments taking place. In 1938, Lewis Mumford wrote:

> Looking back over the course of Western civilization since the fifteenth century, it is fairly plain that mechanical integration and social disruption have gone on side by side. Our capacity for effective physical organization has enormously increased; but our ability to create a harmonious counterpoise to these external linkages by means of co-operative and civic associations on both a regional and a world-wide basis, like the Christian Church in the Middle Ages, has not kept pace with these mechanical triumphs.[3]

The coexistence of mechanical integration with social disruption has continued into the present decade.

If the religious and political belief systems must be mutually supportive as the basis for a political community, then it is important to determine what the religious associations' belief systems are and what these associations are doing to further the reality of a political community. What they are doing is important in each type of community--national, state, and local. This study is concerned with one kind of local community, the metropolitan

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[3]Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), p. 7.

area.

Because of limitations of time and funds available for research, this study is limited to a selected group of the religious associations in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. These religious associations meet the following criteria: Anglo-American associations, that is, those religious associations founded either in the British Isles or in the United States but akin to their British brethren in religious practices; active participants in the Southern California Council of Churches; and the denominations included within the transforming wing of the Calvinist tradition in contradistinction to the perfectionist wing of that tradition. As a result of utilizing these criteria, the study will be dealing with the "mainline" Protestant denominations in the Los Angeles area.[4]

The restriction of the study to the religious associations meeting these criteria seems valid for several

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[4]The major denominations included are: The Methodist Church (The Evangelical United Brethren Church has recently voted to merge with The Methodist Church); similarly organized Negro Methodist associations; The United Presbyterian Church; The American Baptist Convention and the Negro National Baptist Convention; The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; The United Church of Christ; and The Disciples of Christ.

reasons. First, the denominations included within this segment of Christianity have been the ones most closely associated with the middle class value system embodied within the American culture. For good or ill, denominational clergy have more frequently thought and acted in terms of this value system than have the clergy in other religious associations. Therefore, the denominational clergy have a familiarity through association and participation in the organizational activities of the dominant groups in the community with their political attitudes and behavior.

Second, following from this association between the denominational clergy's approach to secular life in the community and the existing cultural pattern, their churches are often the prestigious churches. The political and socioeconomic leaders of the area are frequently found on the membership roles of such churches. As a result of this type of membership through their pastoral functions the influence of the denominational clergy may be more effective and widespread than it would be in less prestigious churches.

Third, even though the denominations have been closely associated with the dominant cultural pattern in

America, they are more likely than other religious associations to acknowledge and accommodate themselves to the changing pattern of societal existence in the modern urban complex. Their doctrinal positions embody the belief that a personal activism directed toward achieving a transformination of the world into a place in which greater harmony of life with life is both desirable and attainable. The achievement of this kind of world is possible through the help of God despite the sinful nature of man.

Fourth, because each of the denominations has some form of centralized church government, they are in some measure able to transcend the authority and influence of the local congregations. Consequently, the denominations' leaders are often able to act in the interest of the community as a whole rather than to serve as an instrument of justification for the personal values of an individual congregation, which appears to be the case in many local churches.

Fifth, historically, the denominations have exercised considerable influence on the political development of the nation. Many of the denominational clergy and laity exercised leadership and influence in the process of establishing the republic's political institutions on a rational

basis in order to further the cause of liberty with order. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many churchmen in the denominations were actively involved in the social gospel movement. This movement was based on the recognition of the need to satisfy the material as well as the spiritual welfare of men in this world. The social gospel movement encouraged both private organizational activity and governmental intervention through legislation to assist the less fortunate citizens attain a higher standard of living. In many ways this movement was the precursor of the contemporary civil rights movement. At the present time, there are large numbers of denominational clergy and laity engaged in the civil rights movement and its corollary, the war on poverty. Modern denominational theologians have also recognized the necessity for a new theological approach in order to give the denominations a philosophical basis for seeking solutions to modern urban problems.

Theology and Political Issues

An important reason for the significance of the denominations to the political community is their contributions to and acceptance of the concept of the secularized

state. Two attributes of the theology of the transforming wing of Calvinism, individualism and rationalism, have contributed a great deal to the secularization of political institutions in America.

Since the Reformation period, the secularization of the state has become a fact to be considered in any study concerning government in America. At the time of the Reformation, both Martin Luther and John Calvin were the primary catalytic agents responsible for advancing the secularization process. Their systematic theology, which emphasized individual responsibility for redemption and salvation, contributed to limiting the spiritual authority claimed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy over the temporal authority. Ultimately, the theology of Calvin was responsible for limiting the influence of the denominational clergy on the decisions of political leaders. In his theology he placed the responsibility on men for their efforts to transform the world, and from this it logically followed that all citizens, and not primarily the clergy, should have a part in determining the direction of the life of the political community.

Rationalism also contributed to the demise of the concept of an organic community where, for the most part,

each man performed the duties appropriate to his inherited status in life. The organic concept of the community in which church and state were not separate entities was prevalent prior to the Reformation period. Rationalism furthered the process of secularization of the state by placing stress and hope on the reasoning capability of men to understand their environmental arrangement, and to act on the basis of a rational system of ethics in tune with the laws of nature.

As a corollary to rationalism, the methodology of scientific investigation made a significant contribution to the secularization of the temporal authority. By utilizing this methodology, scientists were able to explain objectively (as natural and to some extent controllable occurrences) many phenomena which were once attributed to God's pleasure or displeasure. Consequently, political leaders no longer needed to rely on a theoretical concept of divine approbation in order to assist in providing a satisfactory environmental set-up for the people.

Secularization of the state, which helped to make existing democratic institutions possible, also helped to make a political community based on associational pluralism a reality. Numerous religious associations exist in

the modern American metropolitan areas. Therefore, although the denominations included in this study were once the dominant religious associations in America, they are now only one influential religious group among several.

But even more important for the political effectiveness of the denominations than their minority status as religious associations is the fact that the type of individualism and rationalism associated with Calvinist theology is no longer appropriate to life in the highly interdependent but pluralistic modern urban complex. This part of Calvinist theology has tended to isolate man from man with an attendant impersonalization of society and has helped to prevent the establishment of a political community in metropolis.

Denominational clergy are becoming aware of the need for altering the denominations' theological approach. Since the second World War, rapidly accelerating quantitative changes have created environmental conditions which seem to indicate a qualitative change in the shape and style of living. This is especially true of the industrialized nations of the world. As a result of these changes, there is considerable speculation by theologians and others about the nature of the political community in

such a stage of transition.

At this time, the idea that civilization, particularly in regard to metropolitan areas, is in a transitional stage from one type of cultural ethos to another has been elaborated on by academicians from various disciplines. Harvey Cox, a theologian, in his theoretical analysis of the problems of the modern city,[5] and Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, political scientists, in their study of the civic culture,[6] are examples.

These three scholars agree on a three stage developmental process in the historical progression of Western European civilization. Cox described the development of this civilization as progressing from the communal stage of tribal relationships to the type of individualism consistent with town relationships; then in the third stage it progressed to the anonymity, mobility, pragmatism, and profanity of the technopolis. For Almond and Verba, the

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[5]Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), passim.

[6]Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), passim.

progression begins with the familial ties of the parochial culture which is similar to the tribal stage described by Cox. The second stage of development is characterized by Almond and Verba as a subject culture in which most people are dependent upon the elite for leadership and guidance. They describe the third stage as being a participant culture in which more people than in the second stage are involved in the authoritative decision-making process. Their third stage would correspond, loosely, to both the second and third stages of development as described by Cox. In both analyses, the three stages of development are not discontinuous. Therefore, elements of all three stages are found to exist together in the modern urban complex. The third or present stage is apparent but not yet clearly defined.

In such a transitional period from one stage of development to another, uncertainties about what ought to be done to establish a political community necessarily arise. In addition to these uncertainties, significant portions of the populace hold back from accepting or dealing with the meaning for the community of the environmental changes that are taking place.

The denominations have had a philosophy of politi-

cal action consistent with the middle class value system of a small town and rural America.[7] The process of finding and identifying with a theological approach that will give the denominations a philosophical basis for acting positively in regard to the problems of the technopolis is a difficult and controversial one. Existential theology seems to be the most appropriate one for this purpose and will be considered in some detail in this study.

Urban Problems and Political Community

With the advent of the civil rights movement in the last half of this century, there has been a trend on the part of the denominational clergy to take a more progressive attitude and approach toward the changes taking place in the modern urbanized areas. The success of the civil rights movement, including the so-called "war on poverty," has provided an objective means by which the effectiveness of the denominations' activities in achieving

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[7]It is not surprising that the denominational clergy, until recently, have been largely on the side of the conservative forces in the modern society, since the spokesmen for conservativism have tended to defend the value system associated with the town and rural areas.

a political community in the Los Angeles area can be judged.

Racial and ethnic discrimination and poverty are the most urgent problems yet unsolved which inhibit the development of a political community in Los Angeles. Many community leaders including the clergy have been seeking to obtain satisfactory answers to these problems.

In the United States, the civil rights movement has provided a means for focusing attention on these serious problems. It has accelerated some of the political and social developments which have been in the process of realization within the national community since its inception. The inauguration of the civil rights movement itself would seem to be a manifestation of the conflict, which has existed since the nation was established, between the principles on which the democratic institutions are based and their application within the community.

One of the important developments which has been considerably accelerated by the success of the movement is political equality. The principle of political equality had been most flagrantly abused in the South where the political inequality of the Negro was justified because of his supposed racial inferiority. The civil rights movement

has succeeded in its efforts to gain political equality to the extent that now the moral authority of the national government in conjunction with the sanctions at its disposal is being employed to assure every citizen the right to vote and to have his vote carry as much weight as the vote of any other citizen. In the past political equality has aided other ethnic minorities to achieve integration into the community as well as a higher standard of living. Therefore, it is likely that political equality will give the currently underprivileged ethnic and racial minorities a lever for attaining these things.

However, under the mid-twentieth century conditions of greatly facilitated means of transportation and communication, it appears that the progress of presently underprivileged groups may be too minimal for them to achieve integration (with the middle class) and a comparatively higher socioeconomic status. The various dislocations in the equilibrium in urban areas and especially in the large metropolitan areas are evidence that the progress of absorption of these groups into the mainstream of prosperous

middle class America is not proceeding rapidly enough.[8]

Outside of some areas in the South, political equality of all racial and ethnic groups is legally recognized and functions reasonably well. However, some people, in other parts of the country as well as in the South, suffer in other ways as a result of the gap between the abstract democratic principles and their application in the community.

On a deeper level than legal political equality, the civil rights movement, as well as ancillary movements such as the student protest movement, are outward manifestations of an underlying search for meaning and purpose for all people in an urban and technological society. The philosophical basis for this quest is that in a free society each person's decisions concerning his own fulfillment in this life should depend on his individual will and conscience. In order to achieve this goal, the quest is likely to go beyond a simple demand for political equality which does not by itself provide the conditions necessary for the freedom to make responsible choices. This freedom,

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[8]The recent riots in Los Angeles and Chicago are examples of this type of disturbance in metropolitan areas.

unrestricted by prejudice and poverty, is the essential ingredient of maturity for the individual.

Furthermore, political equality does not make up for the sense of aimlessness which accompanies the absence of a viable and humane community in the modern technopolis. This feeling of aimlessness is also enhanced in industrialized urban areas by the realization that survival is no longer dependent upon the utilization of physical labor in the productive processes. This realization is especially disconcerting in a world in which there is a plethora of people to do the minimal required physical labor necessary for survival.

In the Los Angeles area, the denominational clergy have taken an active part in the civil rights movement in order to assist in achieving the goal of a political community. The new theological approach, existential theology,[9] has provided the philosophical basis for their efforts.

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[9]Situation ethics is another term also used to denote this kind of approach.

Judgmental Role of the Denominational Clergy

In theory, at least, the clergy have a means of transcending and uniting all parts of the population into a political community. The means is their judgmental role which is exercised in terms of the eschatological doctrines of the Christian ethic. In fulfilling this function in society, the clergy, through teaching, serving as neutral parties in community disputes, and exerting pressure and leadership through organizational activities, provide a means for integrating and uniting the area. In these ways the clergy exercise a leadership roles in finding a meaningful existence for each individual within the context of a changing environmental situation.

It is to the advantage of the metropolitan areas that the clergy assume and fulfill this sort of role. The representatives of religious associations are not alone in seeking answers to the difficult problems of urban life. In their approach to political issues, however, religious associations through their representatives have advantages which secular associations do not possess in the same degree. According to Murray Stedman, professor of Government and chairman of the Department at Trinity College, Hart-

ford, Connecticut, the clergy have some advantages over the representatives of secular associations such as those coming under the general heading of labor, education, and the press, when it comes to passing judgment on significant issues. One advantage is a greater sense of moral awareness, that is, an ability to grasp the moral implications of great issues. Another advantage is the clergy's greater sense of history and of the continuity of human development.[10]

There is justifiable concern that the clergy's efforts to contribute to the solution of political and social problems has been, if not entirely lacking, certainly at a minimal level. Be that as it may, religious associations such as the denominations have periodically asserted themselves in so called revivals and awakenings. Once again the denominations are involved in a process of moral awakening and revival. What they are doing to assist in achieving a political community in Los Angeles

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[10]Murray S. Stedman, Jr., Religion and Politics in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 18.

is part of this process.

Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the political role of one group of religious associations, the Anglo-American denominations, in an urban complex. The civil rights movement including its various ancillary movements has clearly demonstrated the lack of a type of regional community which can meet the material and psychological needs of all its residents. Religious associations have a vital part in such a movement the objective of which is to secure a more viable and humane society than has been the situation in Los Angeles. The denominations have exercised a very active leadership role in this movement in this area. What they have been doing to create a political community and the philosophical basis on which they are acting are examined in this study.

Research Methodology

Because political scientists have not been greatly concerned with this type of investigation, a specific methodological approach is lacking. It is necessary to

utilize the available techniques and apply them to an investigation of the political activities of the denominations.

The interview was the major technique employed. In order to structure the interviews with the clergy, a questionnaire was prepared. (See Appendix A for copy of questionnaire.) The questionnaire was filled out by the researcher during the interviews. The clergy were encouraged to editorialize on the questions if time permitted. Depending upon the time the clergy could make available, interviews were as short as thirty minutes and as long as four hours. In all cases, interviews took place in the office or home of the clergyman. There were thirty-two interviews in which the questionnaire was utilized. However, a total of fifty-one clergymen from the various denominations and from other religious associations were interviewed. The clergy representing churches located in different socioeconomic, ethnic or racial, and geographical areas in Los Angeles County were covered. Interviews were also held with the clergy in charge of administrative departments in the various headquarters of the denominations.

In addition, interviews were conducted with gov-

ernment and private officials in the Los Angeles area who were working on community projects in conjunction with the denominational clergy. Furthermore, in many instances, conversations with secretaries of both the clergy and government officials provided a great deal of information pertinent to the study. The secretaries were also able to make available material such as pamphlets, brochures, mimeographed statements, and other written documents which were most helpful.

The results of the interviews were used in several ways. They were used in determining the opinions of the denominational clergy on the various aspects of church-state relations and on the problems of urban living in the Los Angeles area. In some parts of the study, particularly in Chapter Five, the data acquired in the interviews was used in statistical analysis and comparisons of the clergys' opinions about church-state relations and urban problems. The information gained from the editorializing of the clergy in regard to the questions provided a very important part of the background for the entire study. Finally, the results of the interviews were used in determining and describing the ecumenical, the denominational, and the church activities related to the political life of

the Los Angeles area.

Source Materials

Studies concerned with the effect of contemporary theological approaches on the political role of religious associations and their clergy as leaders in the task of creating a political community in metropolitan areas are lacking. There have been numerous studies of the writings of theologians in relation to their positions on church and state. Reilly's "Contemporary Thought on Church and State: An Analysis of the Work of Jacques Maritain and John Courtney Murray"[11] is one example. Studies of the influence of religious interest groups on government may also be found. Pratt's study of the Protestant Council of the City of New York covered one ecumenical organizational activity that sought to influence the authoritative decision-making process in that city.[12]

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[11]John E. Reilly, "Contemporary Thought on Church and State: An Analysis of the Work of Jacques Maritain and John Courtney Murray" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Harvard, 1961).

[12]Henry J. Pratt, "The Protestant Council of the City of New York as a Political Interest Group" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Columbia, 1962).

Political scientists have a stake in studying and analyzing the effect religious associations have on political life in the secular community. In this regard Sebastian de Grazia has emphasized the mutual support which religious and political belief systems should have for each other in order to provide the basis for a political community.[13] A recent survey of the effect religious associations have on American politics is Stedman's Religion and Politics in America.[14] To obtain a wide range of views concerned with the relationship between religion and politics, two collections of articles by political scientists and others are useful: Smith and Jamison's two volumes, Religion in American Life[15] and Raab's Religious Conflict in America.[16]

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[13]De Grazia, op. cit., Chapters 2-3.

[14]Stedman, op. cit.

[15]James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (eds.), Religion in American Life: Religious Perspectives in American Culture (2 vols., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[16]Earl Raab (ed.), Religious Conflict in America: Studies in the Problems Beyond Bigotry (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964).

The history of church-state relations in America is most thoroughly covered in the three volumes, Church and State in the United States[17] by Canon Stokes and published in 1950. Recently these three volumes have been admirably revised and condensed into one volume by Leo Pfeffer. Pfeffer is also the author of a book, Church, State, and Freedom,[18] which emphasized the constitutional aspects of the division of labor between church and state in America. Pfeffer has included much of his earlier work, as well as recent constitutional interpretations by the United States Supreme Court, in the revised, Church and State in the United States.[19]

Two general surveys of the historical and theological development of Protestantism, Dillenberger and Welch's

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[17]Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

[18]Leo Pfeffer, Church, State, and Freedom (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953).

[19]Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, Church and State in the United States (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964).

Protestant Christianity[20] and Brown's The Spirit of Protestantism,[21] assisted in placing the Anglo-American denominations in the proper perspective within the broad scope of Protestant development. Because it traces the historical development of American Protestantism in regard to its effect on religious associational pluralism in the modern community, Littell's From State Church to Pluralism[22] was beneficial. In a more general way than Littell does, Niebuhr discusses the relationship between Christian ethics and democratic government in Nations and Empires.[23] More concerned with the effect Christian ethics has had, specifically, on American political development, Niebuhr and Heimert collaborated on a succeeding

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[20]John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954).

[21]Robert McAfee Brown, The Spirit of Protestantism (2nd. ed. rev.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[22]Franklin Hamlin Littell, From State Church to Pluralism: A Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1962).

[23]Reinhold Niebuhr, Nations and Empires: Recurring Patterns in the Political Order (London: Faber and Faber, 1959).

work, A Nation So Conceived.[24]

A knowledge of the writings of theologians was essential to the accomplishment of this study. Particularly important for this purpose were the works of theologians who are concerned with how contemporary religious associations can help modern man in becoming part of a meaningful community in this world. In this regard, the personal reflections and soul searching of Bonhoeffer,[25] a clergyman writing under considerable strain in a Nazi prison, are informative. Tillich has written a great deal as a theologian and as an academician, but two of his books, the companion works--The Shaking of the Foundations[26] and The New Being[27]--were most useful for this study. These two books were compilations of sermons which

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[24]Reinhold Niebuhr and Alan Heimert, A Nation So Conceived: Reflections on the history of America from its early visions to its present power (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963).

[25]Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Letters and Papers from Prison, (trans.) Reginald H. Fuller (New York: The Mac millan Co., 1953).

[26]Paul Tillich, The Shaking of the Foundations (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948).

[27]Paul Tillich, The New Being (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955).

Professor Tillich, for the most part, delivered at Union Theological Seminary. These sermons make available a fairly concise statement of his approach to Christian existential theology.

Two Anglican bishops have contributed to the further development and acceptance of existential theology in the present decade. In Doing the Truth,[28] Bishop Pike explains how individuals should make major decisions affecting their lives on the basis of Christian ethics and not in terms of the established mores, religious or secular, of the society. In Honest to God[29] and The New Reformation,[30] Bishop Robinson offers his critical appraisal of the established institution of the Christian Church, and of its role in the community. Apparently, Bishop Robinson's goal is the articulation of a lay theology which can

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[28]James A. Pike, Doing the Truth: A Summary of Christian Ethics (2nd ed. rev.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965).

[29]John A. T. Robinson, Honest to God (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963).

[30]John A. T. Robinson, The New Reformation (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965).

meet the needs of the laity in a secularized community.

The changing function of the religious associations and their churches in the technopolis has also come under scrutiny by contemporary theologians. Two of the most noteworthy theoretical analyses of this function are Cox's The Secular City[31] and Winter's The New Creation as Metropolis.[32] Two collections of writings by churchmen, sociologists, and social workers, The Church and Community Organization[33] and The Church and the Exploding Metropolis,[34] were useful because they illustrated how religious associations could apply Christian ethics to current problems in the metropolitan areas. In this respect, methods of conflict and reconciliation have been utilized by denominational clergy in dealing with urban problems

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[31]Harvey Cox, The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965).

[32]Gibson Winter, The New Creation as Metropolis: A design for the Church's task in an urban world (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963).

[33]John R. Fry (ed.), The Church and Community Organization (New York: National Council of Churches, 1965).

[34]Robert Lee (ed.), The Church and the Exploding Metropolis (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965).

through community organizations. Schaller has analyzed the advantages of these two methods,[35] and he concludes that ultimately reconciliation is the most satisfactory method available for helping people to help themselves.

Sociologists have been active in the study and analysis of religious associations and their role in the community. As one of the first sociologists to be concerned about the influence of theology on secular activities, Weber has made significant contributions for this kind of study. In this regard, his analysis of the connections between theology and the economic arena, and hence the political and social arenas, as the theme of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism[36] helped to explain much about a society in the process of becoming secularized. In a secularized society, Herberg's thesis is that the function of religious associations has been to serve as a means of identification for individuals in a

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[35]Lyle E. Schaller, Community Organization: Conflict and Reconciliation (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966).

[36]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, (trans.) Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

society where personal relationships were temporary and people were highly mobile.[37] The continuing analysis by sociologists of the role of religious associations in the community is exemplified by Salisbury's Religion in American Culture: A Sociological Interpretation.[38]

Sociologists have also made empirical studies of religious associations and their impact on secular institutions. Lenski's efforts to verify Herberg's thesis by an empirical study of religious associations in the Detroit area is an example.[39] His work is a guide post for future efforts in this kind of endeavor. In the same type of empirical study, Schroeder and Obenhaus conducted an investigation in a midwestern county.[40]

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[37]Will Herberg, Protestant--Catholic--Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (2nd. ed. rev.; Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1960).

[38]W. Seward Salisbury, Religion in American Culture: A Sociological Interpretation (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1964).

[39]Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor: A Sociologist's Inquiry (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1963).

[40]W. Widick Schroeder and Victor Obenhaus, Religion in American Culture: Unity and Diversity in a Midwestern County (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

The difficulties associated with life in metropolitan areas have resulted in more attention being given by academicians to these problems and their analysis. A recent general but thorough survey of metropolitan areas and their problems is The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life.[41] An informative study specifically dealing with the Los Angeles area and its special situation is Southern California Metropolis: A Study in Development of Government for a Metropolitan Area.[42] In addition, the wealth of data and information available in Background for Planning...1963[43] published by the Research Department of the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, is most useful to an objective appraisal and analysis of the problems unique to the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

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[41]John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

[42]Winston W. Crouch and Beatrice Dinerman, Southern California Metropolis: A Study in Development of Government for a Metropolitan Area (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

[43]Marchia Meeker, Background for Planning...1963 (Los Angeles: Research Department, Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, 1964).

Understanding the authoritative decision-making process in a community is essential to effective political action by voluntary associations such as the denominations. The use of the scientific method of analysis of this decision-making process by political scientists and political sociologists has considerably expanded the available information on this subject. Some of the significant publications on this subject have been Hunter's Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers,[44] Dahl's Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City,[45] and most recently, Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson's The Rulers and the Ruled.[46] The latter publication was especially fruitful for this study. Making use of their predecessor's research and techniques of research and adding some of their own, the authors were able to make

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[44]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[45]Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

[46]Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

inclusive generalizations about the nature of the decision-making process in the community.

The manner in which the shape and style of living has been changing in the metropolis is thoughtfully presented by Greer in Governing the Metropolis.[47] His presentation of the changing pattern of living is valuable for an understanding of the kind of role churchmen are called upon to fulfill in helping to achieve a political community in Los Angeles. Banfield and Wilson's City Politics[48] was also useful for this understanding.

For an analysis of the historical development of cities and their function for men, Mumford's The Culture of Cities[49] remains an outstanding work of this type although it was published in 1938. With regard to a philosophy of the ideal life in a contemporary urban community,

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[47]Scott Greer, Governing the Metropolis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962).

[48]Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

[49]Mumford, op. cit.

Haworth has written a book called The Good City.[50]

As general background information for this study such books as Marty's The New Shape of American Religion,[51] Clark's The Christian Case Against Poverty,[52] Wilson and Davis's The Church in the Racially Changing Community,[53] Stringfellow's My People Is The Enemy,[54] and Dirk's Religion in Action[55] were invaluable.

A report[56] by a Special Committee on Church and

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[50]Lawrence Haworth, The Good City (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1963).

[51]Martin E. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959).

[52]Henry Clark, The Christian Case Against Poverty (New York: Association Press, 1965).

[53]Robert L. Wilson and James H. Davis, The Church in the Racially Changing Community (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966).

[54]William Stringfellow, My People Is The Enemy (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1964).

[55]Lee E. Dirks, Religion in Action: How America's Faiths are Meeting New Challenges (Silver Springs, Md.: Newsbook, The National Observer, 1965).

[56]Relations Between Church and State, a Report of the Special Committee on Relations Between Church and State in the United States of America of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1963).

State to the 175th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church was very beneficial in determining one of the major denomination's positions on contemporary church-state relationships. Furthermore the successful completion of this study was aided immeasurably by the Los Angeles Times' coverage of the activities of religious associations in the Los Angeles area.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I consists of an introduction to the problem to be dealt with in the study, the procedure used in obtaining the information for the study, and the source materials related to the study.

Chapter II is concerned with the five approaches Christians within the major Protestant denominations subscribe to concerning man's relationship to God, society, and his fellowman, and the appropriateness of each approach for facilitating the process of social change in the modern urban complex.

Chapter III is a summarization of the national legal and institutional factors which affect the political role of the denominations in the United States.

Chapter IV includes a survey of the local factors

in the Los Angeles area which are related to the political efficacy of the denominations in making this metropolitan area a political community.

Chapter V deals with the opinions and attitudes of the denominational clergy toward church-state relations and toward urban problems with particular emphasis on the Los Angeles area.

Chapter VI is a presentation of the ecumenical, denominational, and church activities related to the political life of the Los Angeles area. These activities are described and analyzed in regard to their effectiveness in helping to achieve the goal of a political community in this metropolitan area.

CHAPTER II

THEOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Although efforts are being made to bring the various Christian churches together to achieve the Christian ethic of an inclusive brotherhood of man, the divisions remain.[1] The divisions are most apparent in the three major branches of Christianity: Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox.

But within Protestantism there are also disagreements based on theological considerations, seriously affecting its efforts to influence the shape and style of

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[1]Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., "Church Strategy in the Metropolis: A Roman Catholic Viewpoint," The Church and the Exploding Metropolis, Robert Lee (ed.) (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965), p. 102. "Social scientists never tire of searching for the solidarity factor in religion. They are haunted by the ghost of Durkheim, who thought that religion was both a product and a creator of social groups. Religionists call this factor fellowship, or brotherhood, or fraternal society, but they have also always faced the problem of in-group solidarity and out-group hostility."

modern society.[2] This chapter will examine the five approaches Christians within the major Protestant denominations subscribe to concerning man's relationship to God, society, and his fellowman, and the appropriateness of each for facilitating the process of social change in the modern urban complex. Neither the clergy or the laity in Protestantism are agreed on the social function of the church. Consequently, the individual churches and the denominations are divided internally on the social philosophy which ought to prevail in Protestantism toward the church's interaction with the community.

Until recently, conservatism, liberalism, and neo-orthodoxy have been the theological approaches of the great majority of Protestant denominations and professing Protestants.[3] Robert McAfee Brown suggests that there is

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[2]Political analysts tend to categorize the three branches of Christianity as separate and united groupings. Perhaps, it would be more useful for purposes of political behavioral analysis to recognize these differences and to classify Protestantism according to theological considerations within its ranks. See Seymour Lipset's article, "Religion and Politics in American History," in Religious Conflict in America, ed. Earl Raab (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1964), pp. 60-89.

[3]W. Seward Salisbury, Religion in American Culture (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1964), p. 118.

a fourth approach, ecumenical theology, growing out of the awareness of the similarities among the denominations.[4] But most importantly, the problems created by such social maladjustments as ethnic conflicts and the various secularisms[5] in the modern world have given impetus to the development of a fifth approach, existential theology.

This last approach is able to provide a philosophical basis for a more active political and social role for the denominations in the community. One of the purposes of this study is to explore the possibilities for the political role of the denominations in an urban complex through accepting existential theology as the basis for a social philosophy.

It is important to understand what is involved in each of these five theological approaches in order to comprehend the lack of group cohesiveness which affects the political role of the denominations in an urban com-

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[4]Robert McAfee Brown, The Spirit of Protestantism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 34.

[5]Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 21. Cox refers to secularism as the name for an ideology, a new closed world-view which functions very much like a new religion.

plex. In this chapter each of the theological approaches is briefly surveyed.

Conservative Theology

The conservative theology is a metaphysical approach which postulates a supernatural force outside the natural world revealed to man primarily through the miracles and the Bible. The Bible is taken literally by conservatives as the revelation of divine intervention in the lives of men in order to demonstrate an eternal life in body and spirit. Conservatives accept the supernatural interpretation of Jesus' life--the Virgin Birth, the physical resurrection of the body that was buried for three days, and the miracles--as the fundamental proofs of God's concern and activity with men.[6]

The theological conservatives place great emphasis on the acceptance of these criteria as the basis for salvation, and much effort is devoted to working out doctrines and statements which explicitly express these criteria. In past situations this effort to define the

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[6]Salisbury, op. cit., p. 122.

standards of belief by which salvation may be obtained has resulted in a theological scholasticism, such as that of the medieval period or of the era of New England Puritanism. In both instances the power structure of the temporal authority was used to enforce the prescribed standards of belief. This approach is largely concerned about means to attain salvation for a life beyond this corrupt and sinful world. The prescribed means for attaining salvation may be either by fulfilling the sacramental rules of the church or by practicing a form of worldly asceticism.

In the modern period in the United States, the theological conservatives do not have the same interdependence with governmental authorities as they had in either the medieval or Puritan periods. With the modern secularization of political authority the conservatives have had to wage a defensive campaign to preserve what is left of their influence on the culture. The rear guard action to continue prayers in the public schools through an amendment to the Constitution is an example of this type of effort by the conservative forces. No longer able to control the political processes by a popular majority of the eligible voters, there is an attempt to make use of

constitutional forms to obtain the desired end.[7]

The attempt to preserve prayer in the public schools exemplified two aspects of the theological conservatives' position on worldly affairs which tend to place them in opposition to their less-metaphysically oriented fellow believers. First, the conservatives tend to be concerned primarily with the acceptance of statements or doctrines about God with the hope that this makes practicing Christians out of those who publicly acknowledge the statements or doctrines as their own.[8] Second, the conservatives often assume that a simple faith in a metaphysical being offers a definite and clear cut answer to the perplexing questions of the hour.[9] Both aspects of the conservatives orientation toward social problems are expressed by William Jennings Bryan: "A man can be born again; the springs of life can be cleansed instantly. . . If this is true of one, it can be true of any number.

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[7]Earl Raab, "The Nature of the Conflict," Religious Conflict in America, ed. Earl Raab (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1964), p. 11.

[8]Brown, op. cit., p. 7.

[9]Ibid., p. 31.

Thus a nation can be born in a day if the ideals of the people can be changed."[10]

Theological conservatives are themselves divided into three groups.[11] One group includes those within the major denominations and cuts across organization lines. The second group contains the sincere fundamentalists outside the denominations. There are about five million persons who claim membership in the several Churches of God, Adventists, Churches of Christ, various Pentecostal Churches, the Church of the Nazarene, and the Assemblies of God.[12] The organizational spokesman for this group is the National Association of Evangelicals. A third group of conservatives exists on the fringe of the other two groups. Ralph Lord Roy has called this latter group the

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[10]Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 186.

[11]Salisbury, op. cit., Chap. viii. Theological conservatives have been characterized by Salisbury as "Third Force Protestantism."

[12]Ibid., p. 157. In regard to the influence of theological conservatives within Protestantism, Salisbury concludes: "Because of the sincerity of their practices, represented in both worship and in contributions, Third-Force churches exercise an influence that is out of proportion to their numbers."

"Apostles of Discord" whose spokesmen in a ministry of hate are termed by him collectively as the "Protestant Underworld."[13]

Although the ability to wield influence is greater in a pluralistic society through a numerically large group which possesses strong cohesive qualities and has the willingness and desire to propagate its views, theological conservatives are characterized by several features which tend to reduce their political efficacy. While these limitations are more likely to be true of theological conservatives outside the major denominations, it is true to a lesser extent of those within.

One such feature is that the theological conservatives do not favor an ecumenical approach to social and political issues in the secular community.[14] Each church

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[13]Ralph Lord Roy, Apostles of Discord (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953), p. 4.

[14]Ibid., pp. 183-196. The National Association of Evangelicals, however, maintains an active interest in issues which have an affect on the position of the fundamentalist churches in the community. It has opposed liberalism in domestic affairs and internationalism in world affairs for fear of their affect on fundamentalist religious beliefs. More radical and disruptive in defense of its ultra-conservative position on the fringes of Protestantism is the American Council of Churches. This organi-

group holds that it has correctly interpreted the meaning of the Scriptures for man and is very doubtful about the interpretations of other churches. Another such feature is that the membership is drawn largely from a lower status group than is found in the "old line" Protestant denominations. Community leaders and government officials are more likely to come from middle and high status groups. The National Council of Churches, in a survey of the religious affiliation of the members of the Eighty-seventh Congress, found that 300 members of Congress or 56 per cent of the total number were from four of the higher status denominations: Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopal.[15] Finally, theological conservatives are not so likely to become involved in secular political affairs because the typical member is absorbed in religious

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zation has been under the long-time leadership of Carl McIntire, pastor of the Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, New Jersey. McIntire left the Presbyterian Church when he was censured for his activities by the General Assembly in 1936 and formed his own organization, the Bible Presbyterian Church.

[15]Salisbury, op. cit., p. 345.

activities. His behavior is so guided by religious values that he approaches the conservative ideal of living a separated religious existence apart from the secular world. Neither the laity nor the clergy in this group places much emphasis on education of a secular nature. Because of the centrality of the religious role no real conflict between the secular and the sacred is recognized, but secular affairs and problems tend to be seen as peripheral in importance and effect.[16]

Theological conservatives within the traditional American denominations, on the other hand, are sufficiently secularly oriented to prevail upon the denominational leaders not to take political action to alleviate inequities in the economic and social system.[17] Although the power of the theological conservatives varies in each urban area and on different issues, there is a relatively influential conservative group in the Los Angeles area in each of the denominations. However, this group's influence is

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[16]Ibid., p. 157.

[17]Probably one important reason for a greater secular orientation of this group is the higher educational attainment of the clergy within the denominations.

more apparent in the high status churches in the area such as the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ than in the Baptist and Methodist churches.[18] The latter two have traditionally followed a more active social gospel line and tend to have a more significant following among the working class, even though all of the denominations are predominantly middle class based.

Among the theological conservatives on the fringe of Protestantism are persons of doubtful sincerity or conviction associated with organizations which purport to bring the truth about the Christian Gospel to the people. In addition to Carl McIntire and his American Council of Christian Churches,[19] this group includes men such as

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[18]For example, the Los Angeles Presbytery recently voted not to support the grape strike currently being conducted in the Delano area of California. In regard to Proposition Fourteen, there was also considerable opposition from both clerical and lay participants in the Presbytery monthly meeting to the recommendation for a No vote on the Proposition. On the other hand, the Methodist clergy in the Annual Conference of 1964 were almost unanimously against passage of Proposition Fourteen, but there was some lay opposition to the recommendation for a No vote on the Proposition by the Board of Christian Social Concerns.

[19]Ralph Lord Roy, Communism and the Churches (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1960), p. 229. "McIntire's dislikes are manifold--he denounces the Southern

Edgar C. Bundy, head of the Church League of America; Billy James Hargis, leader of The Christian Crusade; and Gerald L. K. Smith, who made a career out of crude denunciations of Negroes, Jews, and Protestant leadership.[20] According to these men, the Christian message includes some form of ethnic superiority. This claim of Caucasian superiority is accompanied by a charge that the more liberal socioeconomic and political beliefs and activities of the denominations are communist inspired. The influence of these individuals and organizations has not been without some effect on theological conservatives within the tradi-

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Baptist Convention, the American Bible Society, the National Association of Evangelicals, the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, Youth for Christ, the Moody Bible Institute, and all of the other important religious groups, without regard to theology or political orientation. He attacks Billy Graham as a compromiser. He has described Brotherhood Week, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, as a 'gross perversion of scriptural teachings'."

[20] Ibid., p. 228.

tional Protestant denominations.[21]

Liberal Theology

Christian liberalism was an outgrowth of the intellectual ferment and reorientation of thought toward theology in the nineteenth century. It was directed to a considerable degree against the scholasticism of the orthodox Protestants of the two previous centuries.[22] Perhaps the greatest contribution of Christian liberalism to modern theological considerations has been the emancipation of

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[21]In the course of one interview with a theologically conservative clergyman of the United Presbyterian Church, the clergyman alleged that Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, recently the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Church, as the new General Secretary of the World Council of Churches seemed to be following the communist line in his statements and actions in regard to the war in Vietnam. However, this clergyman also made a point of informing me that he was not a member of the John Birch Society and did not intend to become a member. As a matter of fact, he stated, he had turned down an invitation to give the invocation at a Society meeting. In regard to the influence of the Birch Society in one of the denominations, in another interview a Methodist clergyman administrator asserted that the Society had attempted to influence the official action of individual churches on Proposition Fourteen by trying to gain control of the lay governing board.

[22]John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), pp. 179-180.

theological thought from the attempt to define in human terms a diety detached from the world and from the attempt to make explicit the so-called unchangeableness of God's program for man's salvation.

Christian liberalism has its beginning with the philosopher Immanuel Kant, who denied the possibility of knowing God through pure or theoretical reason and systematically attacked the traditional proofs for God's existence outside the natural world. Nevertheless, for Kant there was still a basis for religious belief in the awareness by the self of the moral law which is universal. Kant referred to the process of awareness of the moral code as practical reason, in opposition to knowledge, which is pure reason. While recognizing that man in his actions was subject to deviations from the universal moral code, he believed that by a deliberate act man could overcome those tendencies which contradicted the moral law. According to Kant, in order to help men to overcome these immoral propensities, the existence of God must be postulated as a sort of psychological sanction to encourage men to make this deliberate effort.[23]

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[23] Ibid., pp. 157-158.

Thus Kant set the stage for the doctrine of individualism in the sense it is used by the Christian liberal,[24] and for the doctrine of the immanence of God in the world.[25] These two doctrines are the basic tenets of liberal theology. Utilizing these two basic tenets theological liberals place great emphasis on the test of reason for religious beliefs and on the authority of personal experience for religious awareness. Liberals do not accept the supernatural events of Jesus' recorded life and prefer to think in terms of the "Jesus of history" rather than the "Christ of the Creeds."[26] Rejecting the doctrine of the fall of man and original sin, liberals are

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[24]George H. Sabine, History of Political Thought (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 745. "Individualism in some form or other has usually been regarded by liberals as an axiom of any theory of value. For liberals who stand in the Christian tradition it would perhaps have seemed as well stated by Jesus as by any philosophical system when he said, 'The Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.'"

[25]Dillenberger and Welch, op. cit., p. 218. "God is not one who, exists wholly apart from the world, acts only occasionally, or interrupts the natural order in effecting his will. . . . In effect, the liberal doctrine of immanence involved the breaking of the traditional distinction between natural and supernatural."

[26]Salisbury, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

not concerned with the goodness or badness of man. They prefer to believe that man is shaped by his environment while at the same time he may also shape his environment.

Probably foremost among the attributes of the theological approach of the Christian liberals is what Dillenberger and Welch call the liberal spirit--the spirit of open mindedness, of tolerance and humility, and of devotion to truth wherever it might be found. This spirit has in some degree always been present within the Christian tradition, but as a result of the efforts of the theological liberals of the nineteenth century, it has become an established feature of Protestant thought.[27]

There are four other themes or attributes of liberal Protestantism which have been carried over into the twentieth century from nineteenth century Christian liberal thought. First, respect for science and the scientific method has remained a definite characteristic not only in regard to the material world but in Biblical criticism and the study of the history of religion. Second, theological liberals have held to a scepticism as to the possibility of achieving certain knowledge of ultimate reality, conse-

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[27]Dillenberger and Welch, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

quently placing some doubt on the idea of immortality of man. Although this theme of scepticism persists in liberal theology, it has been modified to some extent by a renewed emphasis on the centrality of Jesus' life and teaching stripped of the attached mythology (the Virgin Birth, a prescientific world-view with its three-story universe, its ascensions into heaven, its descents into hell). Third, another theme has been the emphasis upon the continuity of man with the natural world and, derived from this continuity, a natural law discernible through man's reasoning capabilities and an acceptance of the evolutionary principle as it applies to man and nature. Later theological liberals have tended to modify this third theme somewhat to give more emphasis to the dignity of man and the triumph of the spirit over natural tendencies; man's activities should not be thought of only in terms of the mere interplay of brute natural forces. Fourth, there has been a confidence in man and his future which, of course, was related to the general optimism of the nineteenth century outlook for the development of civilization in its successful utilization of nature for man's purposes. As a result of the horrendous occurrences in regard to total wars and depressions of the twentieth century, this fourth theme of

Christian liberalism has almost passed from the scene.[28]

These four themes persist in varying forms up to the present time, although liberal theology as a distinct force within Christian thinking has been somewhat lessened by the developments of the twentieth century. But individualism, one of the two basic doctrines of nineteenth century theological liberals, still considerably influences denominational thinking in the Los Angeles area.[29] Possibly this is a result of three factors: common agreement on the idea of individualism among more traditional theological liberals and conservatives, although for differing reasons; a beneficent environmental situation in southern California without the more serious constrictions of space which exist in older urban areas; and the relative newness of many of the local clergy to the area.[30] Yet recent

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[28]Ibid., pp. 213-224.

[29]A leader in the conciliar movement in Los Angeles commented that an individualistic frontier psychology has prevailed in Los Angeles religious circles to the extent that two of the leading prelates, Bishop Kennedy of The Methodist Church and Bishop Bloy of the Episcopal Church, had never personally met.

[30]Several of the clergy I interviewed stated that because they had been in the area for only a few years, they did not have the confidence of the members of the con-

events in the area are causing denominational leaders to look to older metropolitan areas for examples of religious cooperation among the denominations in meeting religious obligations to the developing metropolis.[31]

Nevertheless, theological liberalism's most significant legacy is the establishment of a framework for an open-minded questioning of theological assumptions. In my opinion this has been a necessary requirement for contemporary speculations in theology as these speculations relate to the modern political community.

One of the most significant achievements of the nineteenth century theological liberals was their part in creating the sort of Christian intellectual environment which made acceptance of the social gospel possible for many individuals within the denominations.[32] The social

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gregation which a longer tenure and association with the problems of the community would have made possible.

[31]One young clergyman new to the area remarked that Los Angeles has not been particularly noted in religious circles for its creative thinking in regard to the ecumenical movement of the denominations.

[32]The theoretical framework for much of the socio-economic and political activity of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was based on the twin concepts that unrestricted competition would lead to the public

gospel movement, which had its beginning shortly after the termination of the Civil War,[33] was centered around two developments: "a broader conception of the church's function, and a nascent critique of the patterns and ideology of the existing order."[34] It was an attempt to extend the activities of the churches into the socioeconomic and political realms and to counteract the association of Christianity with the established order. The partial internalization of the social gospel by the Protestant

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good and that the good of all would result as a by-product of the pursuit of self-interest. The social gospel movement was a reaction by many churchmen against the lack of human compassion which was the result of the fulfillment of these concepts.

Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist minister, who was the most noteworthy American exponent of Christian socialism at the turn of the century in reacting to the results of the economic system exclaimed: "Progress slackens when a single class appropriates the social results of the common labor. . . ." Eric Goldman, Rendezvous with Destiny (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 83.

[33]A. P. Stokes and L. Pfeffer, Church and State in the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 300. "But it was not until the slaves had been liberated by the Civil War that 'the social impulse of Christianity' was set free to devote itself to the relief of the new industrial conditions which the war had helped to create. Up to that time public interests of the Church had been mainly absorbed in the question of slavery; now religion became the most powerful drive behind the humanitarian movements of the age."

[34]Dillenberger and Welch, op. cit., p. 245.

denominations has tended to keep the denominations to some extent oriented toward the welfare of the lower status groups in the community. Although the Roman Catholic Church has been traditionally more closely associated with the labor movement in the United States,[35] the Protestant denominations through the social gospel movement have maintained contact with the working class and have helped to sustain a generally friendly attitude toward religion within the labor movement.[36]

The social gospel movement of the early twentieth century suffered from the emphasis on survival resulting from the events of the first half of the twentieth century. However, with the comparative calm and prosperity of the third quarter of this century there has been an increasing concern with the church's obligations to the

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[35]Recently all seven of the Roman Catholic bishops in California gave their support to the unions in the grape strike in Delano.

[36]Henry B. Mayo, Introduction to Marxist Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 253. Mayo points out that in England the association of religion with working-class movements prevented working-class hostility to religion, and was and is an obstacle to the spread of Marxism in the labor movement.

entire community of which it is a part.[37] This renewal of interest in an extension of the social gospel movement into the present period is affecting the denominations' interest and participation in what is now called the community organization movement.[38]

Contemporaneous with the growing interest in the church's involvement in socioeconomic and political activities in the community has been a growing intellectual ferment in theological circles about the relationship among men, church, and God. The intellectual ferment is particularly evident in the writings of the European theologians, such as Tillich and Bonhoeffer, who were subjected to the rigor of a totalitarian regime in Germany.

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[37]Lyle E. Schaller, Community Organization: Conflict and Reconciliation (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 67. But in reacting to the papers presented at a conference on community organization of church leaders, Shirley E. Green, Associate Director, Commission on the Church and Economic Life, Department of Church and Society, National Council of Churches, commented, "'This is where I came in.' He went on to note that many of the suggestions that the churches and churchmen should participate in the community organization process, in the struggle for economic and political power, and in the pursuit of social justice are paralleled in the writings of Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch."

[38]Ibid., p. 50.

It has been true of American theologians as well, especially H. Richard Niebuhr and Reinhold Niebuhr, who were for a long time deeply immersed in social analysis.[39] Possibly because of the greater political and social instability on the European continent much of the seminal thinking about the secular function of organized religion in modern urban life has come from men associated with the continental Protestant tradition rather than the Anglo-American tradition.[40] Within the last decade, however, a wider

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[39]Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 300. Lasch in commenting on the changes which have taken place in the development of Reinhold Niebuhr's thinking as a result of the events of the twentieth century states: "Having begun his career in the ministry as a social gospel liberal, he gradually returned to the orthodoxy of the Pauline and Lutheran traditions, and it was from this perspective with its emphasis on the fallibility of man and the absurdity of human pretensions, that he launched his campaign against both political and religious liberalism."

[40]John A. T. Robinson, The New Reformation (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1965), p. 63. Bishop Robinson writes: "In Britain, with the illusion that the inherited structures are still fundamentally viable, we have been forced to less radically new thinking and action than either on the Continent of Europe or in some circles in America. In America, indeed, the traditional structures are far stronger and more successful (so much so that I recently came away feeling that at least in England we are nearer to death and so perhaps to resurrection!)."

circle of American and British theologians within the denominations has begun to deal with the problems of man's relationship and obligations to other men and to God in the secular urban complexes of the nation. The efforts of these religious scholars has given rise to new theological systems.

Neo-orthodox Theology

American theologians, particularly Reinhold Niebuhr, have developed a theological system which has been labeled neo-orthodox.[41] Recognizing the need for an approach to religion which could provide a psychological sanction sufficiently powerful to overcome the inhumanity of men within the in-group toward men in the out-group,[42]

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[41]Brown, op. cit., p. 32. Brown comments: "That the sands on the theological beach have been shifting is due not only to the pressure of world [sic] events but also to a new theological current as well. This particular current eludes descriptive labels even more tenaciously than the liberal sands upon which it beats, but the most widely used label is neo-orthodoxy."

[42]With the secularization of the state, Christian ethics has had to be dependent upon psychological enforcement rather than upon political authority.

neo-orthodox thought tends to favor the paradoxical doctrine of the incarnation. Jesus, as is true with all men everywhere, could not carry out the will of God without the aid of divine guidance. Therefore, Jesus was, of necessity, both divine and human; but even more than that, Jesus was the product of direct divine intervention in the secular affairs of men.[43] Consequently, according to neo-orthodoxy, to carry out the will of God in this life and to achieve "the peace that passes understanding," men must be aware of the teachings and life of Jesus. Men cannot determine right action on the basis of reason alone. Men must use the teachings and life of Jesus as a means of guidance in their lives and apply them in all of their worldly activities.

According to these neo-orthodox theologians, the Bible, subject to the modifications of scientific and historical criticisms, is still the best source of the teachings and life of Jesus. It is the function of both the clergy and the laity to know this source well in order to carry out the Christian mission in the modern urban complex.

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[43]Salisbury, op. cit., p. 123.

An equally important part of neo-orthodoxy is an emphasis on the sinful nature of men.[44] There is a need for the grace of God in order for men to overcome their human pride. Religious institutions are essential to provide a community in which men may work together to achieve a Christian life.

Because the neo-orthodox position is as closely identified as liberalism with the social gospel movement in its emphasis on participation in socioeconomic and political activities, it provides an additional stimulus to active participation in worldly activities by the clergy. Neo-orthodoxy, however, has not achieved an equal status with liberalism in the denominations although it is beginning to permeate the denominations in their worship and religious practices. Salisbury concludes that the preaching and worship of most of the individual Protestant churches represents the liberal rather than the conservative or neo-orthodox position.[45] It is possible that should neo-orthodoxy with its roots in the divine nature

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[44]Brown, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

[45]Salisbury, op. cit., p. 123.

of Jesus come to be more widely accepted within the denominations, it may provide an intellectual bridge for the sincere theological conservative to reorient his other worldly approach toward a greater concern for the social and political problems of this world.[46]

Ecumenical Theology

The importance of unity among the denominations in dealing with the complexities of modern urban life is obvious; therefore, ecumenical theology may be rather briefly summarized here. It is a development growing out of the realization by many Protestant Christians of the need for a more unified position by the denominations in order to provide a more effective force--politically, economically, and socially--for helping to make the culture of the urban complex a more human one. Ecumenical theology is also the result of the recognition that Christians as Christians must be concerned with the problems of this

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[46]On the basis of my observations in Los Angeles, the Seventh Day Adventists and some Lutheran churches are utilizing this intellectual bridge to the traditional American denominations in relation to ecumenical activities in the community.

world and that the Christian community as a whole should be able to work together to find possible answers to these problems.[47]

Ecumenical theology is also an acknowledgment of the fact that most of the differences between the denominations are actually only institutional differences and not theological differences. Brown puts the case for this type of religious cooperation among the denominations succinctly when he writes: "The major impetus, however, comes from a recognition that Christians are already one in Christ, and must, in obedience to him, make their unity manifest."[48]

In the Los Angeles area there is considerable evidence of greater cooperation among the denominations in order to become a more effective force in this urban complex. Certainly, the percolation of the ideas embodied in the fifth theological approach, existential theology, can

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[47]The Episcopal, United Presbyterian, Methodist, United Church of Christ, Christian (Disciples of Christ), Evangelical United Brethren and African Methodist Episcopal churches are currently engaged in annual meetings looking toward merger under the title of Consultation for Church Union.

[48]Brown, op. cit., p. 36.

only give added impetus to the further development of the ecumenical movement everywhere.

Existential Theology

Existential theology, like neo-orthodoxy, owes a great deal to the spirit of liberalism as a liberating force from the closed system of a God dwelling on another plane of existence separate from this world. But this new approach to theology, which Bishop Robinson has termed "The New Reformation,"[49] seems to differ rather significantly from neo-orthodoxy in the manner in which Jesus becomes known to men. Existential theology and neo-orthodox theology both place considerable emphasis on the concept of the incarnation, but the point of departure for the individual in existential theology is the human nature of Jesus rather than the divine nature. Existentialists believe that the human nature of Jesus is all that men are able to articulate about the man Jesus. As Bishop Robinson states:

> This inductive approach to Christian doctrine is, I am convinced, a discipline which the Church has got

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[49] Robinson, op. cit., passim.

> to relearn. . . . It does not prescribe the ends negatively. But it does insist that the ends are only to be reached from the beginning--and the beginning for men today, as for the first disciples, is from Jesus as a completely human man--whatever else they may be compelled to see in him.[50]

Thus the certainty that Jesus was also divine as well as human is the result of a faith which goes beyond the power of reason and the acceptance of religious forms.[51]

Theological existentialists take the position that the religious institution and its sacramental functions are not the only means of becoming aware of the divine force in society. Consequently, there is for these theologians both a latent and a manifest church existing in the world.[52] The present day Christian must work and

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[50] Ibid., p. 42.

[51] Paul Tillich, The New Being (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), p. 78. Tillich believes: "When we have left behind all objective probabilities about God and the Christ, and all subjective approximations to God and the Christ, when all preliminary certainties have disappeared, the ultimate certainty may appear to us. And in the power of this certainty, though never secure and never without temptation, we may walk from certainty to certainty."

[52] Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall, The Theology of Paul Tillich (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952), p. 259. Tillich defines the latent church and the manifest church as follows: "The latent church is an indefinite historical group which within paganism, Judaism,

study to understand the meaning of Jesus' ministry and its relevance to life in whatever area it may be employed. The use of scientific research and critical historical interpretation, as in neo-orthodoxy and liberalism, are essential tools for the study of the teachings and life of Jesus.

However, unlike neo-orthodoxy, the psychological sanction embodied in existential theology is not a negative one of a divine judgment in regard to the sinful nature of man and the necessity of the grace of God to overcome human pride. There is instead a positive sanction in which man obtains meaning and purpose for his life in being aware of the work of the divine force in the development of man's interrelationships with others and with God in the urban community. In relation to this theological approach, Gibson Winter points out that the "historical struggle for the new mankind becomes the arena of man's answerability to God. The ministry of proclamation is still needed in the world, but that task is the work of

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or humanism actualizes the New Being, while the manifest church is actualized directly and manifestly."

laity in the various world spheres."[53] Cox has phrased this same idea rather succinctly: "It is his experience of the transcendent which makes man man."[54] Because God may disclose His presence in any capacity and at any moment within the activities of the secular world,[55] the Christian must be fully committed to being a part of this world and to relating to his fellowman in order to understand the divine action in the development of the social and political environment.

It is true of any new theoretical analysis that objections are raised to its implications for the social

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[53]Gibson Winter, The New Creation as Metropolis (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 56.

[54]Cox, op. cit., p. 261. Furthermore, Margaret Mead in a recent talk at St. Paul's Cathedral in Los Angeles in which she dealt with Christianity across cultural and national borders pointed out that homo sapiens is the only form of the animal species which has the capacity to transcend his own immediate social, cultural, and physical environment and to think in terms of the species as a whole. Man is also the only form of animal species that has the capacity to define for itself an in-group which is capable of treating with hostility all others regarded as being in the out-group.

[55]Ibid., p. 258. For Cox this means "God discloses himself at those places and in those ways he chooses and not as man would want. And he always discloses himself as one who is at once different from man, unconditionally for man, and entirely unavailable for coercion and manipulation by man."

order. It is possible to discern several objections which can be raised in regard to existential theology. One objection might be that the concept of a divine force being known primarily through the activities of men in this world may be inadequate for satisfying the psychological needs of man. It does not offer the certainty of both a spiritual and physical life in the hereafter as a reward for the self-discipline of either abiding by the rules of religious institutions or adapting one's self to the greater rigor of exclusionary pietistic or rationalistic worldly asceticism.[56]

Another objection which might be raised is that this theology is implicitly a reincarnation of determinism, especially the kind of determinism which is similar to that derived from the Hegelian concept of the World Spirit making itself known through the ideas of rational man, and further development of these ideas through the

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[56]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 154. In regard to rationalistic worldly asceticism which has had a strong influence on denominational thinking, Weber concludes: "This rationalization of conduct within this world, but for the sake of the world beyond, was the consequence of the concept of calling of ascetic Protestantism."

dialectic as the key to a theory of social change.[57] If this criticism be true, it could be claimed that man is merely the object of a force acting independently of any human control.

A third objection which could arise if such a divine force as the World Spirit concept were negated is that in the absence of this type of divine force there would be remain only the liberal approach of the individual guided primarily by his rational self-interest and his self-preservation. But under present circumstances, the modern liberal is without the hope of the nineteenth cen-

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[57]Sabine, op. cit., p. 154. In discussing the dialectic as Hegel conceived it, Sabine comments: "It was a method applicable to every subject matter in which the concepts of progressive change and development are relevant, and in such subjects, it is indispensable, for analytic understanding works only with the mechanical juxtaposition of discrete parts and cannot grasp the necessity inherent in process." (italics mine)

It is interesting to note that the development of thought in the theological families resembles somewhat the dialectical development of ideas. The ideas of the theological conservatives were contradicted by those of the liberals and this resulted in the synthesis of neo-orthodoxy. However, existential theological thought created a different approach following a line of development separate from but parallel with liberalism and neo-orthodoxy. Significant deviations from rationalistic deductive systems often occur in relation to actual developments.

tury liberal in the evolution of man into a more perfect type of human being.

These three objections are related to the positions taken by the proponents of the three theological families already discussed: God existing primarily on another plane of existence; the dependence upon reason to ascertain purpose for man; and the emphasis upon the sinful nature of man. One reply to these objections may be found in the inadequacy of organized religion in its present institutionalized form to meet the need for reconciling the divergent interests present in a secularized urban society.

Religious professionals by themselves are no longer able to provide the needed guidance in contemporary society, because of society's complexity in organization and processes. Furthermore, the residential culture in which the Christian congregation has been rooted has resulted in the churches being concerned primarily with private values of emotional balance and the nurture of children. The Christian congregation as a community has been divorced from the centers of power more directly responsible for shaping the style of the secular so-

ciety.[58]

In accepting the secularization of society as the creation of the divine force, existential theologians in the denominations have suggested a suitable method for the believers--those who accept a God who is in partnership with men in this world and at the same time is the ultimate reality[59]--to be the servant church in secular society and to take an active part in shaping the political and cultural life of the community. According to one theologian, Gibson Winter, the denominations can best accomplish their mission through an informed and active laity:

> A laity, theologically self-conscious and socially alert, is the form through which the Church's witness in metropolitan society will be realized. Metropolis itself is calling forth this form of the Church, for the struggle for metropolitan unity is also the struggle for a human society.[60]

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[58]Winter, op. cit., pp. 10-13.

[59]Cox, op. cit., p. 260. In a secular society, however, "There is, of course, no high court before which those who affirm God's reality and hiddenness can press their case against those who suspect as Kafka did, that there is No One There at all."

[60]Winter, op. cit., p. 50.

Cox has advocated the partnership concept as the theoretical approach appropriate to achieving an active laity.[61] He believes this concept is the culmination of man's historical development and a sign of man's maturity. Employing the concept of the I-Thou relationship as developed by Martin Buber, Cox shows how the relationship between God and man has progressed toward the partnership concept through the three stages of man's development. In the tribal relationship there is a pre-I-Thou type of individual who does not experience God as fully "other" but rather he himself is a part of God and vice versa. But in a society marked by vertical authority, that is, the period of town culture and individualism, the relationship is the classic I-Thou encounter in which there is a confrontation with God as the "other" who has authority over man. In the modern urban society, however, the relationship is more one of partnership in which God is experienced as truly "other" but more in the sense of a mature family relationship. "Rather than participation or confrontation, it is a relationship of alongsideness."[62]

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[61] Cox, op. cit., pp. 264-265.

[62] Ibid., p. 263.

This type of relationship between God and man would seem to require an effort by the believer to search for the meaning of his existence here and now in relation to the development of man in society, which in the modern era is a secular one. A partnership of this type implies activity by both partners in the task of creating a human society in the metropolis.[63]

If the thinking of the existential theologians first permeates into the ranks of the denominations and then is understood and accepted by them, this approach to theology may serve as the philosophical basis for the denominations' active participation in the process of social change as it occurs in an urban society.

Although this approach to theology provides, in my opinion, the most suitable foundation for the denomination's ability to assist in the reconciling of divergent interests within the community, the suitable personal involvement by the majority of church members is not likely

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[63] Ibid., p. 255. Cox suggests: "Politics also describes man's role in response to God. It is 'activity, and reflection on activity, which aims at and analyzes what it takes to make and keep human life human in the world.'"

to come about in the near future.[64] Therefore, because the active and practical Christian must work within the context of his environment with all its modern complexity, perhaps justice is the highest attainable level of motivation for organized religious groups seeking to influence public policy. In regard to justice in relation to power, Schaller concludes:

> To the Christian, justice requires that the primary goal must always be human resource development. Often the acquisition of power is necessary to achieve this primary goal--however, the acquisition and use of power should never become the primary goal; it is always a means and never an end.[65]

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[64]W. Widick Schroeder and Victor Obenhaus, Religion in American Culture; Unity and Diversity in a Midwestern County (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 182. Schroeder and Obenhaus report in their study of the various churches in a county in Iowa: "In each tradition examined, persons who represented the various possible options of relating the Christian faith to the world were found, but there was no clear configuration in any of the traditions. Only in a very few cases did respondents in any of the traditions extant in Corn County reveal any self-conscious reflection on the issue of the relationship between the church and the world." This finding of Schroeder and Obenhaus in regard to religion is similar to the finding of Campbell, et al. in The American Voter regarding political ideology.

[65]Schaller, op. cit., p. 128.

What the Anglo-American denominations are doing first to accomplish a mission of reconciliation in the Los Angeles area, and second what they are doing to achieve justice for all of the residents of this area, will be covered in a later chapter.

CHAPTER III

NATIONAL LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE DENOMINATIONS

In addition to the various theological approaches, four historical and sociopolitical factors are relevant to the political position of the denominations in an urban complex: (1) the legal separation of church and state; (2) the environment of post-Protestant America; (3) the methods of influence appropriate to a democratic community; and (4) the other religious associations in the United States.

Anglo-American Protestant denominations are no longer dominant; they are merely one of several religious associations. Consequently, their political influence is related to their ability to achieve alliances with other religious bodies and with secular institutions, and to their ability to act as a group in support of political programs and issues. The ability of the denominations to assist in reconciling the diverse interests in the metro-

politan areas depends on their success in developing this influence.

It is important, for a fuller understanding of the American polity, to have some knowledge as to how one religious interest group, the denominations derived from an Anglo-American background, is influencing the decision-making process in an urban complex. One of the purposes of this study is to determine how the denominations through the process of reconciliation in the metropolis are taking advantage of the Supreme Court's recent interpretations of the First Amendment clauses dealing with religion.

Separation of Church and State

Of the several historical factors affecting the political and social position of the denominations in the modern urban complex, perhaps the most important is the legal separation of religious and political institutions.[1]

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[1]Will Herberg, Protestant--Catholic--Jew (rev.; New York: Doubleday and Co., 1960), p. 86. "Denominational pluralism, as the American idea of the church may be called, obviously implies that no church can look to the state for its members or support. Voluntarism and evangelism are thus the immediate consequences of the American idea."

The incorporation of separation in the Constitution reflects the importance of the multiplicity of religious groupings[2] and the theological convictions of American Protestants.[3] The theological approach of Protestant reformers established a foundation for individual responsibility to God. The idea of man's own responsibility for his actions gave him the freedom to choose, which, in turn, gave rise to the principle of voluntarism associated

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[2]John C. Bennett, Christians and the State (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 208-209. Bennett indicates there were two important influences which resulted in a trend away from religious establishments at the time of the Revolution. "One was the influence of the 'sectarian' religious bodies such as the Baptists who had always been opposed to all ties between Church and State. . . . The other influence was that of the intellectuals influenced by the Enlightenment, especially Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, who were powerful advocates of religious liberty and who sensed threats to liberty in every form of religious establishment."

[3]William Lee Miller, "Religion and Political Attitudes," Religious Perspectives in American Culture, James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (eds.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 90. The best-known corollary of the "voluntary principle" in religion is in considerable measure the product of theological convictions about the sovereign power of God and the freedom of man. "A large part of American Christianity affirms the voluntary principle in religion not in spite of, but because of, what it believes. This affirmation has been helped along by a liberal and democratic environment, but the religious spirit helped in turn to create that environment."

with the denominations.[4] Under favorable political conditions, voluntary religious associations of committed equal participants has become central to American understanding of religion and culture.[5] The voluntary principle of American Protestantism has been a significant factor in shaping the constitutional principle of separation of church and state.[6]

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[4]Ibid., p. 94. "The penumbra of beyondness, absoluteness, and mystery fades away, and leaves--as the core of what Americans think religion to be--the moral."

[5]Ibid., pp. 90-91. "The Calvinist will to order the society, under God, became the revivalist's attempt at converting the society by individual and voluntary means. The assumption of this free church religion is that the personal religious convictions of individuals, freely gathered in churches and acting in voluntary associations, will permeate the society by persuasion and example."

[6]Sidney Hook, "Religious Liberty from the Viewpoint of a Secular Humanist," Religious Conflict in America, ed. Earl Raab (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1964), p. 141. On the other hand, Hook is of the opinion that: "History of religious struggle and conflicts has not been primarily an attempt to increase the sphere of political and personal freedom, but rather to exercise domination with respect to religious dogma or practice or to win independence of such domination. . . . Religious tolerance has developed more as a consequence of the impotence of religions to impose their dogmas on each other than as a consequence of spiritual humility in the quest for understanding first and last things."

The principle of legal separation of church and state is a unique and important contribution of American statesmen and churchmen to the theory of democratic government.[7] Partly as a result of its successful application in the United States, this concept is being emulated in other countries striving for democracy. In Mexico, for example, the historic dependent relationship between church and state--to directly employ the power and other possesses as an engine for its own purposes[8]--was one factor hindering the growth of democratic political institutions and modern technology.[9]

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[7]Leo Pfeffer, "Freedom and Separation: America's Contribution to Civilization," Religious Conflict in America, ed. Raab, op. cit., p. 152. One of the most well-known scholars of the principle of separation of church and state has written: "America has made many contributions to civilization, but none equals, and certainly none exceeds, the contribution epitomized in the first sixteen words of the Bill of Rights: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'"

[8]Leo Pfeffer, Church, State, and Freedom (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953), p. 604.

[9]Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1963), p. 315. "In view of the social heritage of contemporary Catholicism, it seems unlikely that in the forseeable future any devoutly Catholic state will become a leading industrial nation--one in the forefront of economic development and progress."

In the United States, the distribution of authoritative decision-making power was divided between the state and national governments by the Constitution and its subsequent amendments and interpretations. For many years the national government was concerned only with its position with regard to the legal status of organized religion.

The question of the relationship between organized religions and the state governments was left to the states to resolve.[10] However, the Fourteenth Amendment, added shortly after the Civil War, has been interpreted in this century by the United States Supreme Court to extend many parts of the Bill of Rights to the state governments. Most importantly for this study, the Court has extended the stipulations of the First Amendment regarding religion to the states. The Court's action is conducive to the secularization of state governments and their subsidiaries even though all of the states had already provided in substance for the idea of separation of church and state

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[10]Anson Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, Church and State in the United States, Vol. I (rev.; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 91.

within their jurisdictions.[11]

There are several advantages to the application of the concept of separation of church and state in contemporary society. Its most significant advantage to the denominations is in continuing to give legal sanction to the principle of voluntarism in a religiously pluralistic community. Each religious community may pursue its own ends as far as man's relationship to God is concerned. They may also use any appropriate means to achieve their ends as long as the means remain within the accepted moral limits set by society.[12] The encouragement by the federal

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[11] Ibid., p. 158. Stokes and Pfeffer report in regard to the development of religious liberty in the states: "The development may be summarized by noting that when, during the second quarter of the twentieth century, the Supreme Court ruled that under the Fourteenth Amendment the states were subject to the same restrictions in respect to religious liberty and Church-State separation as were imposed upon the Federal government by the First Amendment, the Court was simply giving Federal constitutional substance to what was in any event in effect in all the states."

[12] Hook, op. cit., p. 152. Defending the role of the state in limiting the means employed by religious organizations to obtain their ends, Hook writes: "The primacy of morality to religion is the most fundamental reason for preserving the independence and neutrality of the state. For religious dogmas, or rather the practices allegedly derived from them, often run counter to the principles of enlightened morality."

government of the principle of voluntarism helps to prevent the overt use of the political authority by a powerful religious grouping in a local or regional area.

Recently, the Supreme Court has carried the principle of voluntarism in religious belief to a logical conclusion. The Court's decisions indicate that the secular and the sacred are separate and distinguishable throughout the political system; therefore, it has applied the concept of separation of church and state to public institutions anywhere within the federal system. In the Court's view the states and their subsidiary organizations are secular institutions. For example, the Court has decided that the public schools may not be used for purposes of propagating or confirming theological assumptions.[13] In line with the voluntary principle, the denominations have given official approval to the Court's action. The Special Committee on Church and State of the United Presbyterian Church, in the first of its twelve recommenda-

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[13]Robert McCloskey, "Principles, Powers, and Values," Religion and the Public Order: 1964, ed. Donald Giannella (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 8. For a specific decision in this matter, see Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).

tions adopted in 1963 by the 175th General Assembly of the Church, declared:

> Public schools are creations of the whole society operating through civil authority and justify their existence solely in terms of their usefulness to the society. Their role is to nurture the cultural, social and material advancement of all citizens by a special system of instruction through intellectual and social disciplines and to stimulate a free search for truth within this discipline. . . . Public schools should neither be hostile to religious beliefs nor act in any manner which tends to favor one religion or church over another.[14]

The denominational clergy in the Los Angeles area have generally supported the idea of keeping the public schools free from the encroachments of organized religions. Twenty-five out of thirty-one clergymen interviewed in the area approved of the Court's decisions against non-sectarian prayers and Bible reading for religious purposes in the public schools. Out of the five clergymen who disapproved of both decisions, three were theological conservatives and two were Roman Catholic

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[14] Relations Between Church and State, a Report of the Special Committee on Relations Between Church and State in the United States of America of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, p. 6.

priests.[15] One clergyman approved of the decision against prayers but disapproved of the decision against Bible reading. All but two of the denominational clergy also approved of the decision against religious instruction by members of the clergy on public school property. These two were joined in their disapproval by the two Roman Catholic priests. Only two of all of the clergymen disapproved of the decision in favor of released time for religious instruction away from public school property.

On the national level, administrative leaders have expressed their support of the Court's decisions. The Reverend Dr. J. Blaine Fister, head of the National Council of Churches' Church and Public School Department claimed: "The Court has done the church a great service in forcing it to rethink its educational strategy and challenging it to provide religious instruction 'beyond the ghetto of one hour on Sunday morning'."[16]

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[15]The two priests were the only ones included in the survey.

[16]"Educators Probe School Prayer Decision," The Episcopal Review, XVII (April, 1966), p. 5.

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has not failed to realize the impact which religion has had on the American people. Although the Court in the Schempp case[17] prohibited Bible reading for religious purposes in the public schools, it declared that teaching religion and the Bible objectively were appropriate subjects for the curriculum.[18] Both Dr. Fister and his associate, Dr. Hunt, agree that professional instructors teaching within the secular sphere of the public schools are able to do a better job of teaching the Bible as literature and history--and as indispensable background material for the humanities--than are amateurs who teach for less than one hour a week.[19] Thus, the Court and the denominations confirm the American heritage of a pervasive liberalism influenced and supported

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[17]Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203 (1963).

[18]Ibid., p. 225. Mr. Justice Clark in writing the majority decision for himself and seven of his colleagues stated: "It certainly may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or of religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular program of education may not be effected consistently with the First Amendment."

[19]The Episcopal Review, XVII, loc. cit.

by a voluntary Christianity.[20]

Even though the Protestant denominations have favored the voluntary principle in religion, they have played an important part in shaping the policies of the political institutions. The influence of the denominations was strongly felt in the founding of the Republic and during the nineteenth century when Anglo-American Protestantism was the dominant religion. With the revival of interest in religion following World War II, the denominations may be expected to continue to be an important political factor in the community.

The "wall of separation" between church and state has never been insurmountable in the broad sense of religious influence on the policies of government.[21] For example, in 1948 in the McCollum case,[22] which denied the use of public school facilities for religious education,

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[20]Miller, op. cit., p. 105.

[21]Stokes and Pfeffer, op. cit., p. 55. Although the phrase, "wall of separation" may be attributable to Thomas Jefferson, nevertheless, "he believed that civil liberties in the last analysis were dependent on religion, on belief in God."

[22]Relation Between Church and State, op. cit., p. 26.

Justice Frankfurter in his interpretation of Jefferson's metaphor went so far as to equate the phrases, "church and state" and "religion and state." The Justice's interpretation seemed to imply that the ethics of religion must be separated from the ethics of public life.[23] Within a few year, however, this interpretation was countered by an interpretation more in line with American customs than Justice Frankfurter's. In 1952, the Zorach case[24] affirmed the released time principle of permitting religious education on school time away from public school premises. The Court, through Justice Douglas, asserted:

> We are a religious people whose institutions pre-suppose a Supreme Being. . . . When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs. To hold that it may not would be to find in the Constitution a requirement that the government show a callous indifference to religious groups.[25]

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[23]McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).

[24]Zorach v. Clauson, 343 U.S. 306 (1952).

[25]Ibid., pp. 313-314.

The Supreme Court has continued up to the present this broader interpretation of the neutrality of the state in regard to facilitating organized religion's influence within the political system. As one prominent law professor has expressed the essence of the relationship between religious liberty and governmental neutrality, "This principle of religious liberty is incompatible with an absolute separation of church and state. . . . The Constitution does not shrink religious liberty to the liberty which is compatible with strict separation."[26]

Existential theologians would have the denominations become an active political force within but not over the community.[27] Consequently, in considering the modern

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[26]Wilber G. Katz, "Freedom of Religion vs. Separation," in Raab, op. cit., p. 164. Wilber Katz is Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin Law School. He previously taught at the University of Chicago for over thirty years where he also served as dean of the Law School for over ten years. He is Chairman of the Commission on Church-State Relations of the Episcopal Church.

[27]Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 256. As Cox puts it: "Speaking of God in a secular fashion is thus a political issue. It entails our discerning where God is working and then joining His work. Standing in a picket line is a way of speaking. By doing it a Christian speaks of God. He helps alter the word 'God' by changing the society in which it has been trivialized, by moving away from the context

political position of the denominations the traditional two swords concept is no longer appropriate. The traditional approach of theologians has been that history may be viewed in terms of two separate but interwoven strands. The strategy of the church has been directed toward bringing outsiders into the security of the sanctuary. Contemporary Christians, who believe the great issue of the time is the remodeling of this world according to the teachings of Jesus, advocate a strategy of working within and for this world--the physical world being equally with the church the creation of the Supreme Being.[28]

To the extent the idea of a wall of separation between church and state tends to reflect the traditional institutional struggle between organized religions and the state for the individual's loyalty and support, it is a valuable attribute of American constitutional law. It has

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where 'God-talk' usually occurs, and by shedding the stereo-type roles in which God's name is usually intoned."

[28]Robert W. Spike, "The Metropolis: Crucible for Theological Reconstruction," The Church and the Exploding Metropolis, ed. Robert Lee (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965), p. 41. Robert Spike is General Secretary for Program, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries and Lecturer in Church and Community at Union Theological Seminary.

been especially useful in a denominationally-separated religious community. The concept of state neutrality is an appropriate one to accommodate the efforts of those individuals who believe that a Christian's responsibility is to discern the meaning and purpose of God in this world, and who wish to be as unhindered as is consistent with political effectiveness in modern society by institutional inertia, self-preservation, and control.

Because the doctrine of the legal separation of religious and governmental institutions has encouraged an internal conflict in the denominations over their role in the secular problems of the community,[29] many of the clergy have been hesitant about taking an active role in political affairs for fear of encroaching on a theoretical wall of separation between church and state. As R. Morton Darrow has claimed, "Whatever else the doctrine of the 'wall of separation' has done, it has thrown a shadow of

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[29] Ibid., p. 34. Spike has made a clear distinction along theological lines between the two major groupings within the denominations: "The metropolis will be the arena in which the major theological battle of the century will be fought. It must be between those who stand primarily under the shadow of a doctrine of the church and those who are oriented toward a doctrine of the world."

guilt upon church participation in political affairs."[30] It is equally true in a religiously pluralistic community that the direct intervention of the denominations into politics creates external as well as internal problems. For example, a leading Presbyterian clergyman reported that when the New York Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church endorsed the platform on which Congressman Lindsay, the Republican candidate for mayor of New York city, was running and thereby implicitly endorsed his candidacy, the supporters of Mr. Beam, his Democratic opponent for the office, raised the cry of anti-semitism.[31]

Even though the major Protestant denominations are hesitant about intervening overtly as organized interest groups in political affairs, they are in a position to fulfill a judgmental role in relation to political and

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[30]R. Morton Darrow, "The Church and Techniques of Political Action," Religious Perspectives in American Culture, James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (eds.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 162.

[31]During the campaign this clergyman was in New York City on business and at the same time visiting his son, a Presbyterian clergyman in that area.

social issues.[32] The neutrality of the state in regard to organized religions lends support to this role for the denominations by recognizing their right to influence public opinion outside their own religious community. One of the political-moral functions of the church is to provide objective standards of excellence by which the results of governmental and communal decisions may be judged. Hans Morgenthau concludes, "In their genuine manifestations religion, philosophy, tragedy, and humor require an objective position outside society. They require objective standards through which society can be understood, judged, and given meaning."[33]

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[32]"Bishop Bloy Endorses Proposed Watts Hospital," The Episcopal Review, XVII (June, 1966), p. 4. As an example, the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles with the unanimous support of the Diocesan Council endorsed the bond issue for the proposed Watts Hospital in a written communication handed out at church services on the Sunday before the election and also in the monthly diocesan newspaper. The Bishop stated: "The McCone Commission's pinpointing of this need has led to the bond issue which will be put before the voters of Los Angeles (County) as Proposition A on June 7. This commission, with others who have the welfare of all citizens of our community at heart, have urged the building of this hospital. I am pleased to give my whole-hearted support to this project."

[33]Hans Morgenthau, The Purpose of American Politics (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 227-228.

Until recently Protestants have been inclined to accept the covert use of political power by the authorities in the community and to support indirectly the established power structure.[34] They have considered inappropriate to a republican form of government the overt use of political power to obtain social and economic justice.[35] But in the last few years, the denominations have given official recognition to the possibility of civil disobedience where the authority of government has been employed contrary to their understanding of the best interests of the entire community. In addition, individual churchmen have become personally involved with the cause of the politically

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[34]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1953), p. 82. In his study of the power structure of Atlanta, Hunter reported that at the time of his research the clergy were not in the top group of decision makers. "It may be noted here that none of the ministers of churches in Regional City were chosen as top leaders by the persons interviewed in the study. . . . It is understood, however, that in order to get a project well under way it would be important to bring the churches in, but they are not as institutions, considered crucial in the decision-making process."

[35]John C. Bennett, "The Church and Power Conflicts," The Church and Community Organization, ed. John R. Fry (New York: National Council of Churches, 1965), pp. 135-136.

significant contemporary protest groups, Negro rights and student anti-war actions. Professor Harrop Freeman believes the two groups are in reality one protest movement and that this movement is the "most important new moral-political force in America since the Granger-Progressive-Labor movements laid the foundations of the New Deal."[36]

By way of comparison, the situation in a similarly democratic but more religiously and ethnically homogeneous country like England is enlightening.[37] In England, where church and state are not legally separate, a direct state subsidy to the clergy can be an advantage in that the subsidy can provide the clergy with a more secure financial base than if they were dependent upon their congregations. This aids the clergy to be somewhat independent of congregational or denominational control and inertia, and such governmental support helps to establish an exploratory ministry in a secular society that can operate rela-

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[36]Harrop A. Freeman, "The Legality of Challenge," Los Angeles Times, April 24, 1966.

[37]John C. Bennett, op. cit., p. 206. Bennett believes that the "most wonderful combination of things is to be found in the Anglican establishment. The Church of England itself is not supported financially by the state, but it has its own endowments."

tively independently of the established institutions of both church and state.

This brief consideration of one advantage to an established church in a democratic unitary state points up the problems in a federal system of government where governmental power is distributed among several governments. The series of recent public school decisions by the United States Supreme Court regulating the interaction between organized religion and a secular public institution exemplifies the fact that most difficult problems of church-state adjustment, for the present, are likely to occur in state jurisdictions rather than federal. Each state, of course, has its own unique problems to solve. Most of these problems are in such fields as education and the general welfare, fields that have been largely under the legal control of the states and their subdivisions.[38]

Post-Protestant America

The second factor affecting the position of the denominations in the modern urban complex is the effect of

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[38]Stokes and Pfeffer, op. cit., p. 579.

the historical domination of Protestantism in shaping the American cultural and institutional patterns. Historically the United States has been a Protestant nation, since its culture and institutions have been shaped mainly by denominational Protestants. Until the twentieth century the holders of power have been primarily Protestants.[39] While this is still true on the national level, it is becoming significantly less so in the metropolitan areas.

One of the more important reasons for the continuation of the Protestant Christian America myth is the statistics published in relation to church membership.[40] Membership is estimated to be 64 per cent of the population--about sixty-seven million Protestants and about forty-five million Roman Catholics.[41] However, there is

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[39]Gerhard Lenski, "The Four Socio-Religious Groups," Raab, op. cit., p. 44.

[40]Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1965), p. 56. More than a century ago, the Danish philosopher-theologian Kierkegaard recognized the importance of numbers on the imagination. He said, "The illusion of a Christian nation is due doubtless to the power which numbers exercise over the imagination."

[41]The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1965 (New York, 1965), p. 624.

doubt about the reliability and the validity of these figures in regard to the committed membership. One theologian has pointed out:

> Nothing is more elusive in church history than honest statistics . . . all of the major religious bodies keep a large percentage of "dead wood" on the rolls, and church statistics are considerably less reliable than production figures on corn, wheat, pigs, beef.[42]

Many Americans tend to claim membership in a religious grouping when in reality their claim is only a means by which they relate to the community in some manner. According to Will Herberg's analysis of this type of identification, the claim to church membership is a means by which the individual gains a feeling of self-identification and social location in the complex and impersonal world in which he lives. For many of these individuals, commitment to the religious-ethical ideal of an inclusive brotherhood of man is not a significant aspect of their affiliation.[43]

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[42]Franklin H. Littell, From State Church to Pluralism (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962), pp. 30-31. Many of the clergy I interviewed were aware of this problem and were trying to keep church records accurate.

[43]Herberg, op. cit., p. 265. Herberg describes this motivation in perceptive terms. "What Americans

By virtue of their real or presumed dominant position, the denominations have often been aligned with the community power structure. Rather than seeking political influence they have emphasized the goal of individual salvation and redemption through acts of piety including regular attendance at services. Therefore, the infusion of power conflicts over controversial issues that involve the denominations' position vis-a-vis the policies of secular institutions in the community has caused the clergy considerable concern over the inevitable divisions created within both the churches and the denominations.[44]

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believe in when they are religious is--religion itself. Of course, religious Americans speak of God and Christ, but what they seem to regard as really redemptive is primarily religion, the 'positive' attitude of believing. It is this faith in faith, this religion that makes religion its own object, that is the outstanding characteristic of contemporary American religiosity." Lenski in his Detroit study obtained evidence to support Herberg's description. Lenski, op. cit., pp. 34-36.

[44]In the course of my interviews in Los Angeles, churchmen often expressed their concern for the factionalism created within their churches over the question of the involvement of the individual churches as well as the denominations in political and social issues. Unfortunately, more than one clergyman gave as a reason the view that "politics is a dirty business" for which he had little interest or time.

However, the fact that the religious composition of the power structure in urban areas has been changing gives the denominations an incentive to organize into a political force to continue their influence in these important areas.[45] But because Protestants continue to think in terms of a Christian Protestant America, they fail to realize America is not now either Christian or Protestant.[46] As a result they do not recognize the importance of forming a cohesive organized interest group to represent denominational Protestant viewpoints on modern problems. Protestant Councils have been organized in urban areas, but grass roots support is often lacking.

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[45]Lenski, loc. cit. According to Lenski, from the Protestant viewpoint "Increasingly positions of power are being occupied by people whose commitment to traditional American standards, particularly those with a distinctive Protestant flavor, is not certain. Their rise may well lead to a transformation of the traditional institutional system hence they are to be feared."

[46]"U.S. Protestantism: Time for a Second Reformation," Newsweek, LXVIII (January 3, 1966), p. 34. Newsweek made this point in rather strong words: "Indeed, in the eyes of many observors, conventional Protestantism--for years comfortably established in the public imagination as the nation's 'official' religion--stood revealed within a secularized American society as the empty, dispirited inheritance of a faceless and fragmented religious majority, the least demanding option among the major religious faiths."

Consequently they fail to exercise much influence on the community power structure.

It is also significant that the Christian Protestant myth is especially prevalent among the dissident theological conservatives on the fringe of Protestantism, who are also actively engaged in reactionary nativistic politics.[47] As stated in Chapter Two, although the leadership involved in this type of religious politics is not drawn from the denominational clergy, there is support for such politics among the conservative clergy and laity. In a religiously pluralistic as well as secularistic community, non-Christians and Roman Catholics associate these individuals with the committed Christians in the denominations. This association makes the task of influencing political and communal decisions more difficult for the denominations because it alienates potential allies. The denominations' ability to form alliances with the liberal wing of the

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[47]Bishop Mueller, President of the National Council of Churches, in a speech to a semi-annual meeting of the Los Angeles Council of Churches referred to this group as "religious Nazis."

Roman Catholic Church[48] and with secular organizations to support their programs has been lessened because of the activity of these individuals.

Furthermore, the fringe or dissident Protestants have an evangelistic fervor in presenting and supporting theologically conservative Protestantism. In their view, conservative Protestantism is closely associated with the "American way of life," and the two beliefs are hardly distinguishable from a description of the white middle class ethos. Philosophically, dissident Protestants base their definition on the Protestant work ethic[49] and on

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[48]There is a rapproachement between the denominations and the Roman Catholic Church since Vatican Council II. As evidence of this, a Cardinal, Archbishop Cushing of Boston, attended a meeting of the 178th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church. This was an historic event. Dan Thrapp, religion editor of the Los Angeles Times, reported concerning the Cardinal's statement at the meeting: "He noted that until Pope John XXIII called his Ecumenical Council at Rome, a cardinal's appearance before a Protestant body would have been almost impossible." Dan L. Thrapp, "Cardinal Cushing Causes Stir at Assembly of Presbyterians," Los Angeles Times, May 20, 1966.

[49]Cox, op. cit., p. 182. "Even in technopolitan culture we still often hold to the proposition that having some kind of job is an indispensable character-building activity and perhaps even an act of religious devotion. The pay we derive from our job is a pat on the head administered by Adam Smith's invisible hand. Since that invisible hand is the closest many people get to Calvin's prov-

supposed Caucasian racial superiority.[50]

Dissident Protestants' association of race, class, and work ethic with religion has a strong appeal to insecure individuals in this period of uncertainty about values and the future. It especially appeals to those who identify with Protestantism but who lack the conviction required to be a servant and a prophetic leader in the secular community.[51]

Their fervor in support of Americanism and Protes-

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idential God (from whom it is directly descended), the job has a sacred value. It provides the orthodox bridge between morals and economics, the key to the kingdom of consumption."

[50]Martin E. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 15. According to Marty the real strength of the present revival came from the middle-brow middle class, "the New Americans who seemed to congregate in the suburbs. At the center of these impulses was what the late Paul Hutchinson called the 'cult of reassurance--a sort of alliance between one aspect of religion, the "I will fear no evil" aspect, and depth psychology to overcome modern personality disintegrations.'"

[51]Berton, op. cit., p. 87. "When Christianity becomes part of the religious and social establishment, when it weaves itself into the national creed, it becomes an inflexible religion, suffering truly from a kind of "rightness" that renders it disdainful of new conditions, mores, habits, or attitudes. It looks back upon the past rather than forward into the future, until it becomes itself fossilized, using symbols and language no longer appropriate to its place and time."

tantism as they have defined them is comparable to the revivalistic spirit of the fundamentalists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[52] In contrast to the contemporary approach of the dissident Protestants, the revivalistic spirit of the fundamentalists was egalitarian as well as anti-intellectual. Fundamentalism had an activist quality related to its Armenian background which gave rise to a wide concern for everyone's spiritual welfare.[53] Their concern was implicit in their great emphasis on the redemption of those who had fallen prey to sin regardless of who they were. Used in this context, sin was related to the Scriptures even though its main thrust was against sins of the flesh such as drink, promis-

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[52]Marty, op. cit., p. 9. All previous revivals in America had a theologically conservative approach but in each period of revival its outward thrust was blunted by other approaches. As Marty claims: "What is marked from Edwards down to Billy Sunday (and I use the word 'down' advisedly) is the way the more conservative side of mainstream Protestant Christianity--the side that was always most effected by revival--saw its particular witness erode against the environment or corrode as it contacted somewhat different witnesses."

[53]Ibid., p. 24. The methodology in these revivals had been to employ the concept of a total covenanted community to which God would respond.

cuity, and gambling.[54] Unfortunately the dissident Protestants are concerned with a different type of sin. In their view sin comprises any belief inconsistent with their definition of Protestantism and the "American way of life."

The dissident Protestants' dedication to and active support of their beliefs hinders the political effectiveness of the denominations. For example, their accusations of communist influence among the denominational clergy because of their secular activities makes an active political role more difficult.

Furthermore, the denominations have sacrificed theological rigor in their concern for numbers. Consequently they are limited in their political influence by accepting a generalized theological commitment sufficiently vague to alienate no one. For the same financial and numerical reasons that political parties make their platform ambiguous, churchmen have made the Christian ethic ambiguous. As a result, elected officials, who often overlook the party platform on which they were elected,

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[54]Daniel Bell, The Radical Right (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1963), p. 63.

are also likely to ignore the petitions, letters, and protests of churchmen who have no real program to offer and only a nominally committed supporting organization behind them.

The limitations created by the fact of a post-Protestant America on the political influence of the denominations is acutely demonstrated by their lessening effectiveness on political issues which concern them.[55] Similar to other influential but declining interest groups, the denominations concentrate their efforts on opposing the passage of pending bills in the legislature or in seeking repeal of statutes already in existence.[56] Thus the political activity of the denominations in the twentieth century has been primarily negative on political issues, instead of taking a positive and progressive stand on them. It is suggested here that this type of approach to politics, in turn, creates a negative attitude toward political involvement which will have to be changed if the denominations are to exercise forward-looking or prophetic

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[55]Littell, op. cit., pp.150-151.

[56]Murray S. Stedman, Jr., Religion and Politics in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 103.

leadership in the community.[57]

A significant exception to the politically negative role of the denominations in post-Protestant America is their part in the current civil rights movement and the related passage of civil rights legislation.[58] Their positive political action in this area can be a turning point in the political role of the clergy and the denominations. However, it should be recognized that the success of this movement and the achievement of effective legislation is the fulfillment of the nation's original sense of mission--

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[57]Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1963), p.177. According to Lenski, the negative attitude toward governmental authority has its brighter side. In regard to the use of governmental power to enforce controversial moral standards, active white Protestants are less likely to believe that this power should be used to suppress contrary practices. The one exception was in the case of Sunday business. On the basis of my interviews, I found that for the most part the clergy in Los Angeles, favored allowing business to remain open on Sunday.

[58]Although taking a positive moral position in relation to Proposition Fourteen, the denominations were forced into a negative stand in that they found it necessary to favor a "No" vote on the initiative. The California Real Estate Association had taken positive action to protect what it conceived to be its interest. One clergyman remarked during an interview that the denominations as usual were too late with too little in that the initiative should never have been allowed to obtain sufficient names to appear on the ballot.

"its messianic or quasi-messianic consciousness of being the initiator and bearer of the principles of constitutional democracy."[59] It could be argued, therefore, that this effort on the part of the clergy and the denominations was extraordinarily late in coming and was a means for assuaging a guilty conscience for a long period of inaction on behalf of equality and justice for all citizens.

An empirical study carried out in Detroit in 1958 supports the need for a stronger associational involvement by the denominational membership. Gerhard Lenski found that white adherents of the major Protestant denominations had only moderate involvement in their socioreligious group. This was the case with both associational and communal involvement.[60] In contrast, minority socioreligious

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[59]Reinhold Niebuhr, A Nation So Conceived (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), p. 12.

[60]Lenski, The Religious Factor . . ., p. 19. Lenski follows Tonnies' distinction between associations and communities. "Associations, (Gesellschaften) arise out of the desire of men to attain specific, but limited, ends without regard for the affective character of the social relationships required by their collective effort. . . . By contrast, communities (Gemeinschaften) arise out of the natural attraction of like-minded persons for whom social relationships established are an end in themselves, and not merely means to some other end."

groups--Jews and Negro Protestants--had a strong communal bond. The Roman Catholics were found to have a strong associational involvement but only a moderate communal bond.[61] From this information, it can be deduced that white denominational Protestants in a post-Protestant period are the least likely of the socioreligious groups to form an active organized religious political force in the community.

Because white Protestants and Roman Catholics are by far the largest socioreligious groups, they have less need for a strong communal bond than do the minorities. However, the fact that Catholics have a strong associational involvement accounts in part for the political effectiveness of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the organizational spokesman for Roman Catholicism.

This discussion of the political ramifications of a no-longer dominant denominational Protestantism underscores an important conclusion of this study: theological commitment in an associational context within the denomina-

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[61] Ibid., p. 37.

tions has been considerably eroded.[62] If the denominations want to be politically more efficacious and to function more effectively in a judgmental role in a secular society, they need a basis for a stronger associational involvement than they have at present.[63] Existential theology can provide a philosophical foundation for this type of involvement.

Methods of Political Influence

Considering the two factors that church and state are legally separate and that America is now a religiously pluralistic nation, the political influence of the denominations can no longer be dependent upon political leaders

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[62]Littell, op. cit., p. 81. "The larger churches thus enter the period of theological and ethical conflict, in the twentieth century, without disciplined troops and without a clear understanding of the line of battle. This is the major price paid for the enormous statistical success of a century and a half of mass conversions."

[63]Lenski, The Religious Factor . . ., p. 21. Early American Protestants in their concern for theology would have given a different picture. Calvinists and Puritans were highly committed and involved in their religious associations. Lenski points out that Weber has attributed the development of the spirit of capitalism to this strong associational involvement.

who are also denominational Protestants. Consequently the denominations' political influence takes two different forms. In one form it is like that of any other organized interest group in a community based on associational pluralism.[64] As an interest group it is subject to the requirements that make such groups successful in their operations. Therefore, the denominations' influence on political affairs depends on their proximity or relevancy (in the thinking of their adherents) to the arena of politics, and on the legitimacy of their claim to influence decision making in the governmental process.[65] As it is understood in this sense, the interaction between politics and organized religion in the United States is based on organizational pressures, group interaction and identity,

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[64]Stedman, op. cit., p. 11.

[65]James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (eds.), "Introduction to Religious Perspectives in American Culture," II, Religion in American Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 5. "On the one hand, Americans as individuals inject into political conflicts and debates innumerable shadings which are religious in character; on the other hand, the churches as organized institutions are important elements in the power structure of American political methods."

and group interest.[66]

One of the most well-known attempts on the part of the denominations to organize a powerful interest group for the purpose of influencing public policy was the Anti-Saloon League organized in 1893 in Oberlin, Ohio, to secure the passage of prohibitory legislation on the liquor traffic. The League was supported by the denominations but most forcefully by the two largest and most active among the working class, the Methodist and Baptist. By 1919 it had secured the acceptance of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Unfortunately for the future use of direct action in nationally organized interest groups by the denominations, this attempt at positive political action was not well received by a majority of Americans. Indeed, the "high-pressure" method employed to secure the adoption of this Amendment did not give the nation great confidence in the plan of direct action by religious associations in state affairs.[67] As a result of

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[66]Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), p. 247.

[67]Stokes and Pfeffer, op. cit., p. 313.

the debacle of Prohibition, the denominations have been more circumspect in attempting to control (directly) public policy.

In the other form of political influence, the denominations' theological approach affects the behavior of the individual's decision making with respect to the political system. While it is difficult to verify empirically the extent of the effect of a citizen's religious affiliation on his behavior, it is probably of considerable significance.[68] Peter Odegard has categorized religious beliefs as being among the silent issues in a national political campaign. He believes that, "Beneath the raucous ballyhoo of every presidential contest there lie the silent issues, which, in the end, often exert more influence on the result than those so loudly argued in the tumult and shouting of the campaign."[69]

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[68]Along this line of thinking the effect of the denominations' teaching and practice in regard to marriage and divorce has had considerable influence on the behavior of the voter in that bachelorhood and divorce are often stigmas not easily overcome in seeking political office irregardless of other merits of the candidate.

[69]Peter Odegard (ed.), Religion and Politics (Dobbs Ferry, New York: 1960), p. v.

The significance of religious affiliation is also felt at the local level. In a case study of a campaign for an assembly seat in the state of Washington in 1958, a law student at the University of Washington, Wes Ullman, and his fellow campaigners were surprised by the importance of the candidate's religious affiliation in the minds of the voters. Almost the only question voters asked the candidate or his co-workers on the doorbell ringing part of their campaign related to the religion of the candidate. The candidate and his wife reported large numbers of calls came into their home asking this type of question. While only a small minority of citizens voiced the question, it came from both Catholic and Protestant voters, and from voters with a wide variety of educational and economic backgrounds.[70] This evidence supports Herberg's claim that "American religion and American society would seem to be so closely interrelated as to make it virtually impossible to understand either without reference to the other."[71]

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[70]Information obtained in a Lecture.

[71]Herberg, op. cit., p. 3.

Within these two forms of influence, the clergy (through their religious establishment) may follow two different approaches toward either directly or indirectly influencing the political process. First, they may support the status quo as the most satisfactory approach. This approach results in the clergy advocating a conformist-producing tendency by claiming God's favor for the American way of life as it is expressed in previous and contemporary cultural and political patterns.[72] Secondly, the clergy may utilize their influence to bring to a fuller realization the Christian ethical ideal implicit in the secular democratic creed as the creed is applied to a changing environment. Following this second type of approach, the denominations would be involved in a situa-

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[72]T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 730. "The more this cement is needed for the maintenance of the status quo and the more dubious its inherent truth becomes, the more obstinately is its authority upheld and the more hostile, destructive and negative features come to the fore. The transformation of religion into an agency of social conformity makes it fall in line with most other conformist tendencies. Adherence to Christianity under such conditions easily lends itself to abuse; to subservience, overadjustment, and ingroup loyalty as an ideology that covers up hatred against the disbeliever, the dissenter, the Jew."

tion of creative tension between organized religion and secular society.[73]

At this point, it is desirable to distinguish between the "American way of life" and the broader democratic creed with regard to their relationship to the American polity. The former is essentially an idealized description of the middle class ethos peculiar to the American community. The latter, with minor variations in the American environment, is the broader democratic creed as it applies to all nations. Arnold Rose has described the creed as it applies in a wider context than the American scene:

> "American ideals" are just human ideals as they have grown up in our common Western civilization upon the foundation of Judaism and Christianity and under the influence of the economic, scientific, and political development over a number of centuries. The American Creed is older and wider than America itself.[74]

Thus if churchmen rationalize or justify the status quo

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[73]Berton, op. cit., p. 75. "Though religion may be able to support a system of social morals at any given period, it is questionable whether Christianity can."

[74]Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1964), p. 9.

based on the "American way of life," as Christians they are not influencing others to commit themselves to the democratic creed and the religious-ethical ideal in relation to their political behavior in the community.[75]

In addition, if the primary purpose of denominational Protestantism is to assure divine sanction for the "American way of life," it establishes itself as an American cultural religion. Christianity, however, is a world religion.[76] In their ministerial functions, if the clergy implement the democratic creed, they are both exercising prophetic leadership and fulfilling a judgmental role. The fulfillment of these roles results in a creative

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[75]Bennett, op. cit., p. 148. Bennett agrees: "The Church needs many ministers who identify themselves with the efforts of the poor to gain power to balance the thousands of ministers who give implicitly their blessing to the way the strong keep their power."

[76]Martin E. Marty, The Restless Church, ed. William Kilbourn (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1966), Preface. "People in our modern, pluralist, secular world have been successfully devising a civic or societal religion much like the Romanitas of the ancient world or the Christendom of the Middle Ages. . . . That some civic or societal religion is inevitable is a commonly accepted observation. Whether it is good or bad depends on what one thinks of the prophetic or Protestant or classical Christianity which is supposed to measure or judge society."

tension between Christianity and society which makes the Church a political force. Because change is an ingredient much in evidence in a society rapidly expanding technologically and numerically, the future political relevance of the denominations depends on their present ability to cope creatively with the changes taking place.

Religious Associations in Post-Protestant America

In post-Protestant America other Christian religious associations have an effect on the denominations' ability to influence social and political decisions. There are six associations which will be briefly discussed in the remainder of the chapter: (1) transforming Calvinism; (2) perfectionist Calvinism;[77] (3) Lutheranism; (4) Orthodoxy; (5) Roman Catholicism; and (6) the recently organized sects centered around non-Biblical charismatic leadership.

Prior to the influx of immigrants from central and eastern Europe and Ireland in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the predominant American religion was

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[77]W. Widick Schroeder and Victor Obenhaus, Religion in American Culture (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 199-201.

Calvinistic Protestantism. Fortunately for the development of American democratic government, early American Protestantism was the heir of a moderate English Reformation during the reign of Elizabeth I. Religious toleration was not an unknown virtue in Elizabethan England.[78] And significantly, unlike the other Christian associations, Calvinistic theology has been based on an ethics of positive action in this world.[79]

The denominations with which this study is concerned come under the transforming wing of Calvinism, which has embraced the spirit of activism to a much great extent than its perfectionist wing. The denominations have adhered to the idea that man is capable of creating a more harmonious world in which to live. Even though man's sinful nature prevents perfect harmony from being achieved, the denominations' approach embodies an activism

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[78]Ferdinand Schevill, A History of Europe (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1947), pp. 168-169.

[79]George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 364. "And indeed, what better motive can there be to relentless activity--to steel the will and, if need be, to harden the heart--than a whole-souled conviction that a man is the chosen instrument of God's will?"

which recognizes the responsibility of man to work toward that end.

Three of the five Protestant families described by Brown are included under the transforming wing of Calvinism: Episcopal, Presbyterian, and "Free Churches."[80] The last family includes the Methodist, Baptist, Congregational and Christian churches although individual churches within this group are closer in doctrine to the perfectionist wing.

Two doctrines have been most influential in the denominations. All three of the denominational families have experienced a Calvinistic heritage mediated through a Puritan background, and from this heritage, the doctrines of the individual's sacred calling in the secular world and of rationalistic worldly asceticism have been most influential.[81] These two doctrines seem to have been

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[80]Robert McAfee Brown, The Spirit of Protestantism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 26-29. Brown includes the Society of Friends in this category although he recognizes they are often classified with the sects. The Friends though small in number have followed a strongly activist line, and they have often cooperated with the denominations.

[81]Lenski, The Religious Factor . . ., pp. 116-117. For example, Lenski shows that there is a correlation

responsible for the sociopolitical activism of the committed denominational Protestant.

However, the concept of voluntarism in denominational religious practices and a changing environmental situation have affected the extent to which these doctrines can be the basis of an associational involvement in the modern world. The denominations are the religious association most likely to develop appropriate doctrines to deal with the changing situation. The denominations have held that the church is not an end in itself but only a means to an end which is greater knowledge of God and of His will. Therefore, the means is subject to change. The denominations also recognize that complete knowledge of God is not now and may never be available to earthly man; therefore, they have encouraged intellectual autonomy, doubt, and curiosity.[82]

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between these doctrines and the spirit of capitalism. He found that committed white Protestants of both the working and middle classes are more involved with the spirit of capitalism than the marginal Protestants. Committed Negro Protestants are as involved with the spirit as are Catholics in general even though white Catholics are much more likely to be in the middle class.

[82]Ibid., p. 204.

The perfectionist wing of Calvinism is composed of two groups; those associations tracing their history to the Reformation era and those of more recent origin. Religious associations in the first category include small groups like the Moravians and Mennonites and significant portions of some large groups like the Baptists. It also includes medium sized but growing associations like the Seventh Day Adventists. In the second category are religious associations like the Pentecostals and the Assemblies of God. Broad associational bonds in this grouping are minimal, and church groups proliferate rapidly with each new faction trying to recapture the "purity" which has been lost by its "misguided" predecessors.[83]

The perfectionist wing is characterized by a vision of the coming Kingdom of God. Related to this millenarial approach is a type of ethical legalism which outlines rather specific behavior patterns adherents are expected to observe to be acceptable at the day of judgment.[84] Because of their ethical legalism and millenarial hopes,

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[83]Brown, op. cit., p. 30.

[84]Ibid., p. 29.

there is a feeling for the exclusiveness of the group in relation to outsiders. In this regard, Schroeder and Obenhaus note that, "One of the powerful latent functions of doctrinal emphasis is the solidification of the group and exclusion of non-members."[85]

The doctrines of the religious associations within the perfectionist wing cause them to remain aloof from the broader social and political concerns of the secular world. As a result they do not cooperate with the denominations in ecumenical efforts to exert political influence.[86]

The Lutherans comprise the oldest Protestant group

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[85]Schroeder and Obenhaus, op. cit., p. 200.

[86]Brown, op. cit., pp. 29-30. Brown comments on the emotional aspect of perfectionist Calvinism: "An emotional type of religious conversion is usually normative for membership in these groups, and those converted expect the imminent return of Christ in judgment. They make repeated use of a few Biblical passages to support their position and believe intensely in the present and direct guidance of the Holy Spirit. As a rule they have little social concern, putting their emphasis on keeping 'unspotted from the world'." For example, the Pentecostals believe that baptism of the Holy Spirit comes about through speaking in tongues. Aimie Semple McPherson, "Declaration of Faith," The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, pp. 16-17.

with a self-conscious identity,[87] and numerically they are the largest Protestant body in the world.[88] Scripture is the primary determinant of their theology, and right doctrine based on Scriptural interpretation mediated through the guidance of the Holy Spirit is of utmost importance.[89]

Lutheranism is conservatively oriented in comparison with the denominations in relation to liturgy and ritual. A professor of philosophy and a Lutheran clergyman, Charles Kegley, writes about the Lutheran service:

> For, more than any other Christians with the possible exception of the Anglican communion, it conserved the essential elements of pre-Reformation liturgy and church architecture, the role of confession, both public and private, the rich tradition in music and in church festivals, in literature, and even in the external characteristics of traditional Christian practice.[90]

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[87] Ibid., p. 25.

[88] Charles W. Kegley, Protestantism in Transition (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 40.

[89] Brown, loc. cit. "So important is doctrine, indeed, that a number of different Lutheran groups exist, each feeling that the others compromise the truth at some important point."

[90] Kegley, op. cit., p. 41.

But most significant for the absence of an activist and united denominational Protestantism including Lutherans has been the Lutheran doctrine of the absolute separation of the two realms, church and state.[91] Because of this doctrine, Lutheranism has been historically inclined to an attitude of political quietism.[92] This attitude is being reconsidered by many Lutherans in view of the results of the church's weak resistence to totalitarian political systems,[93] and today a number of Lutherans cooperate with the denominations' political and social concerns. Some Lutheran bodies such as the Lutheran Church in America are active members of the various councils of churches.

Ecumenically oriented Lutherans in America are

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[91]Bennett, op. cit., p. 40. "Luther's distinction between the Christians and the world and the suggestion that Christians--of course he guards himself by saying 'true Christians'--do not need to be under government is one of his greatest errors and a curious one in view of his own emphasis in other contexts on the sins of the redeemed."

[92]Brown, loc. cit.

[93]In an interview, the President of a Lutheran University remarked that the Lutheran Church in America had more in common with the denominations than it did with some Lutheran bodies. However, more conservatively oriented Lutheran bodies such as the Missouri Synod remain aloof from the denominations.

becoming indistinguishable from the denominations as the process of Americanization goes on. Jaroslav Pelikan, Professor of ecclesiastical history at Yale divinity school, concludes, "American Lutheranism will continue to adapt itself even more completely to its American Protestant environment during the next decades, and that, for better or for worse, it will become a denomination."[94]

The fourth association, Orthodoxy, is geographically centered in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, but there are over three million members of Eastern Orthodox Churches in the United States.[95] Orthodox bodies are organized along ethnic lines, with the Greeks being by far the largest group in the United States with Russians and Armenians in second and third place. Each ethnic body is autonomous and has little or no connection with other ethnic Orthodox bodies.

America and Canada are the only countries in which Orthodoxy is not the dominant religion which has an Ortho-

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[94]Jaroslav Pelikan, "American Lutheranism: Denomination or Confession?," What's Ahead for the Churches, ed. Kyle Haseldon and Martin E. Marty (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), p. 189.

[95]The World Almanac, 1965, p. 624.

dox membership large enough for a sustained dialogue with the denominations.[96] Even though Eastern Orthodox bodies believe their church to be the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church,[97] they cooperate ecumenically with Protestant bodies in the councils of churches.[98]

Orthodoxy considers Scripture and tradition, as these two elements are interpreted in the on-going life of the whole church, to be the foundation of its theology.[99] In its worship service it gives the feeling to communicants of actually participating in and actualizing the life of Jesus. Because of the distinctive ability to create this impression, Orthodoxy offers an outstanding example

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[96]John S. Romanides, "The Orthodox: Arrival and Dialogue," in Haseldon and Marty, op. cit., p. 150.

[97]Kegley, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

[98]For example, the Armenian Orthodox Church actively participates in the Commission on Church and Race of the Southern California Council of Churches. The Very Reverend Torkom Manoogian is a member of the Commission's Board of Directors. The Greek Orthodox Church has also supplied a past president of the National Council of Churches.

[99]Brown, op. cit., p. 38.

of corporate worship as an expression of Christian faith.[100]

As the process of Americanization proceeds with ethnic groups, it is likely that Orthodoxy will become a fourth acceptable religious identification in American society. However, because of Orthodoxy's emphasis on tradition, ethnicity, and ecclesiastical church administration, it is not as likely as Lutheranism to become a denomination. It now occupies a position somewhere between that of the Roman Catholics and the Jews in relation to the denominations.

Numerically, Roman Catholicism is the largest branch of Christianity in the world and the largest religious association in the United States. As a result of its extensive membership as well as its doctrinal cohesiveness, Roman Catholicism exercises considerable political influence on all levels of government independently of other religious associations.

There are several reasons why Roman Catholicism is a more doctrinally cohesive association than are the denominations. Because many if not most Roman Catholics believe

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[100]Ibid., pp. 38-39.

that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true church of Christ, it has not been easy for them to accept the principle of voluntarism even in a religiously pluralistic state.[101] Secondly, the rigid hierarchical organizational pyramid of the church and the clear distinction in church matters between priest and layman, strengthens the associational bond, since the communicants are dependent on the church for redemption and salvation.[102] The strong associational bond enhances the political influence of the church by providing cohesive group support. Thirdly, their previous rejection and their exclusion from community leadership groups by the majority Protestants have given Catholics an abiding loyalty to their church.[103]

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[101]Stokes and Pfeffer, op. cit., p. 50.

[102]Lenski, The Religious Factor . . ., pp. 270-273. Lenski concludes that in comparison with denominational Protestantism, Roman Catholicism encourages obedience to the church and reduces the intellectual autonomy of its communicants. A strong heteronomic orientation is particularly prevalent among the Catholic clergy.

[103]Herberg, op. cit., p. 233. "These feelings of rejection, exclusion, and grievance though they no longer correspond to the facts of American life, and though they are deplored by more thoughtful Catholics, are still a real force among the great mass of Catholic people in this country. It takes a long time for such wounds to heal."

Theologically, Roman Catholicism has emphasized tradition as interpreted and revealed by ecclesiastical authority, and it has considered the seven sacraments administered by the priesthood as the means of salvation. Scripture has an important place in the theology, but it is not the final authority as with Protestantism. Unlike Protestantism, Biblical interpretation in relation to modern problems is determined by the upper echelons of the church hierarchy.

Modern Catholic theologians are developing approaches that are more flexible in relation to interpretation of tradition and the Scriptures than were previous conservative interpretations. These theologians do not equate society, state, and government, as commonly found in conservative and tradition-oriented Catholic circles. John Courtney Murray, a Jesuit scholar and theologian, believes that equating three different aspects of the national community is a mistake leading to erroneous conclusions.[104] Father Cooke, chairman of the department of theology at Marquette University, has summarized the

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[104]Thomas T. Love, John Courtney Murray: Contemporary Church-State Theory (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1965), p. 78.

evolving position of the liberal American Catholic group:

> There can always be the danger for Catholics, because of their essential commitment to the greater value of the life beyond, that they will undercommit themselves to the betterment of the present life. More and more it seems that American Catholics are escaping this danger, are realizing that Christianity is truly eschatological in the sense that the world to come will develop out of the Christianization of the world which is, and are increasingly accepting the role of living the truth and the charity of Christ in the midst of their brethren.[105]

If these modern liberal Catholic writings become more widely disseminated and accepted among the faithful--particularly among the Bishops--Roman Catholicism can move closer to the denominations in political and social concerns. The results of Vatican Council II have demonstrated that the church can utilize ideas and methods that are consistent with effective cooperation with the other branches of Christianity.[106]

Cooperation by the Roman Catholic Church with the denominations varies with the issue involved and the juris-

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[105]Bernard Cooke, S.J., "America's Catholic Community; Increasing Involvement," in Haseldon and Marty, op. cit., p. 149.

[106]Brown, op. cit., p. ix. The possibility of an organic union between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, however, is remote.

diction under which it falls. On the municipal level, the diocesan bishop and his officials in the chancery speak for the church. On local issues the bishop's approach to politics and religion is the dominant factor in the church's position. On the national level the National Catholic Welfare Conference is the church's spokesman. All of the American bishops are eligible for membership in the NCWC, but as a group it does not have any ecclesiastical or legislative authority over the individual members.[107] The NCWC maintains an efficient and influential organization in Washington, D.C. to protect and represent the interests of Roman Catholics.[108]

The last group of religious associations do not have much in common except they all have originated from "inspired" prophets who have combined some Christian teachings with tribal or cultural values.[109] The three

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[107]Stedman, op. cit., p. 91. "The NCWC is therefore, the instrument of the American bishops. At the same time, the autonomy of each diocese is guaranteed."

[108]Ibid., p. 92.

[109]Littell, op. cit., p. 83.

most influential associations in this category are the Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints), Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses. Except for purposes of religious identification as one of the three acceptable religious groupings, these associations have little in common with denominational Protestantism. They do not join in ecumenical activities with other religious associations.

Although individual members are often opposed to the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines, these associations have much in common with Roman Catholicism's position that truth has been revealed to it and that salvation is obtained through the acceptance and practice of its doctrine. Unlike Catholicism, however, all of these groups are of comparatively recent origin. They are derived from the religious turmoil of the nineteenth century and from denominational Protestantism's failure to emphasize certain aspects of Biblical practices thought to be relevant to modern Christianity.[110] For example, Mormonism filled the need for the spirit of brotherhood economics and practical community, Christian Science emphasized the

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[110] Ibid.

importance of spiritual healing, and Jehovah's Witnesses stressed the eschatological theme.[111]

The Mormons have a membership of close to two million; Jehovah's Witnesses have over three hundred thousand members; Christian Scientists do not list membership statistics.[112] Mormons have their greatest concentration in Utah and the surrounding states with a large number located in Southern California; Christian Scientists are an urban middle class sect found throughout the Unites States but also with large numbers in this area; and Jehovah's Witnesses are an urban proletarian sect.[113] The Witnesses have had considerable influence on the preservation and extension of religious freedom through litigation which they have carried to the United States Supreme Court.[114]

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[111] Ibid., p. 90.

[112] The World Almanac, 1965, pp. 624-625.

[113] Littell, op. cit., pp. 83-92.

[114] Dayton D. McKean, "The State, The Church, and The Lobby," in Smith and Jamison, op. cit., II, p. 133. "The religious body called Jehovah's Witnesses should go down in our history as the most litigious group on religious matters ever to arise in this country. They have done more than all other sects combined to induce the Supreme Court to interpret the First Amendment."

Because these religious associations are closed systems, there is little likelihood they will become involved with the denominations in cooperative efforts to solve metropolitan problems. In the Los Angeles area there was no evidence of their cooperation in relation to these problems.

In this chapter the position of the denominations in regard to their relationship with American political institutions and with other religious associations has been covered. The acceptable methods of exerting political influence in a democratic community for the religious associations were also dealt with. The next chapter is concerned with the local factors affecting the political role of the denominations in the Los Angeles area.

CHAPTER IV

LOCAL FACTORS RELATED TO THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE DENOMINATIONS

In a country as large as the United States significant variations in metropolitan areas and in their political systems are to be expected. An important aspect of the variations in political systems is the amount of decentralization of governmental structure and the fragmentation of power. Other variations in metropolitan areas are manifested in the following: demographic factors, including size, composition, and mobility of the population; socioeconomic factors such as level of education, income, and kind of labor force; and ecological factors pertaining to the social structural patterns existing in the community.[1]

The material in this chapter covers these governmental, demographic, and socioeconomic aspects of the Los

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[1]Leo F. Schnore, The Urban Scene (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 19.

Angeles metropolitan area, and their effect on the political role of the denominations in the decision-making process of this community. The study of ecological factors is beyond the scope of this study.

Robert E. Agger and his colleagues have shown in their study of community power structure that political decisions are often shaped by the political ideology of the community leaders and that political decisions are the cause of variations in the socioeconomic system.[2] But because political theory is less well developed than economic or social theory, the cause-and-effect sequence is frequently assumed to flow from the socioeconomic system to the political system.[3] Whatever the direction of flow of cause and effect, demographic and socioeconomic as well as political factors play a large part in the decision-making process, and a study dealing with a metropolitan area could not be considered complete without their inclusion.

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[2]Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1964), pp. 669-673.

[3]Ibid., p. 114.

Los Angeles County

As a political and geographical unit, the Los Angeles area has some distinctive characteristics which make analysis difficult but interesting and informative for political scientists. For the purpose of this study, Los Angeles County shall be considered as comprising the Los Angeles metropolitan area. To determine how the denominations are able to exercise their political role thereby influencing decision-making in this metropolitan area, the relevant governmental and socioeconomic factors will be briefly considered.

In general terms a metropolitan area is defined as an area consisting of heavily populated land whose central and other portions have a high degree of economic and social interaction.[4] The national Bureau of the Budget has tried to provide an empirical basis for defining what is termed a standard metropolitan statistical area. According to the Budget Bureau, an SMSA contains at least

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[4]John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 6.

one large city of not less than 50,000 people and includes the county in which the city is located as well as adjacent counties which are also metropolitan in character and are economically and socially integrated with the county containing the central city.[5] On the basis of this definition Los Angeles and Orange Counties compose one metropolitan unit. However, Crouch and Dinerman in their recent study of the Los Angeles area concluded that although "Orange County has many associations with Los Angeles, the communities are still sufficiently distinct to justify their operating as separate governmental entities."[6] Consequently, for the purpose of their study Los Angeles County comprised the Los Angeles metropolitan area.[7]

In analyzing the political role of the denominations, Los Angeles County like most metropolitan areas has

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[5] Ibid., p. 7.

[6] Winston W. Crouch and Beatrice Dinerman, Southern California Metropolis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 7.

[7] In this same vein the Los Angeles Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church has proposed to add more presbyteries in Southern California in order to have the Los Angeles Presbytery be concerned solely with problems of Los Angeles County.

several unique features which require consideration. It is one of the largest counties in the United States in both area and population.[8] Although it is the second largest metropolitan area in total population, it is only ninth in population density.[9] As a result the residents are afforded more open space than are those in some of the older and more crowded areas in the East.[10]

Three of the most noteworthy factors in the development of Los Angeles are the recentness of its growth, the

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[8]Los Angeles Times, September 1, 1966, Part I, p. 3. According to the California State Department of Finance, Los Angeles County's population as of July 1, 1966, was estimated at 6,957,000 people.

[9]Bollens and Schmandt, op. cit., p. 75

[10]Marcia Meeker, Background for Planning....1963 (Los Angeles, 1964), p. 8. Miss Meeker of the Research Department of the Welfare Planning Council for the Los Angeles region wrote that, "In spite of its past growth, Los Angeles County still is a community of low population density and will be able to absorb many thousands of additional families for some time to come." In a more dramatic approach, Time wrote, "Having grown outward, Los Angeles is now in the process of growing upward, a shift reflected in the thrusting towers near city hall and the modern, luxury high-rise apartment houses that now line the west end of Wilshire Boulevard in Beverly Hills and Westwood. Still, for all the city's growth, there remain many areas of country living deep inside the city limits, where hills and valleys, treed lawns and wild animals abound." Time, (September 2, 1966), p. 15.

rapidity of its increase, and the mobility of the area's residents.[11] All three factors are interrelated, and it is easily deduced from them that a large number of the residents of particular sections are newcomers to that section.[12]

The first two factors have been well publicized. However, the last one is less well-known. Rates of residential mobility within the area are higher for Los Angeles than for any other SMSA. The Bureau of the Census reports that 18.9 per cent of the civilian population in the Los Angeles area moved their residence within the County in 1959-1960, whereas only 8.4 per cent did so in New York and only 14.4 per cent moved in Chicago.[13]

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[11]Bollens and Schmandt, op. cit., p. 18. In the 1950-1960 decade, the Los Angeles area grew by more than 50 per cent which is substantially more than the nation's population growth of 18.5 per cent during the decade. Time has also commented that, "Los Angeles is probably the fastest-growing city in the history of the world." Time, loc. cit.

[12]Meeker, op. cit., p. 4. In the 1950-1960 decade, 1,181,200 newcomers came here.

[13]Crouch and Dinerman, op. cit., p. 4.

Because many of the residents not on retirement came to Los Angeles for better employment, they are also more vertically as well as horizontally mobile than in other areas.[14]

Mobility, whether geographical or occupational, is in some ways a desirable thing.[15] However, there are disadvantages to a highly mobile population in an area like Los Angeles where authoritative decision-making is fragmented to such a large extent. In this type of political

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[14]Ibid., p. 213. "Mobility of the population, both as to residence and employment, has been a meaningful phenomenon of economic, social, and political conditions in the Los Angeles area for decades."

[15]Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan and Co., 1965), p. 57. Cox believes that: "Motifs of mobility and homelessness, of wandering and of pilgrimages informed the self-understanding of the earliest Christian community. They knew that here they had 'no lasting city' . . . They were essentially travelers. This understanding of the Christian life as a journey appears time and again in Christian history, from St. John of the Cross to Dante's Divine Comedy to Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress to Kierkegaard. Unfortunately it has been individualized, whereas the earliest vision was of a people moving together; nonetheless the basic image remained." Richard Austin Smith, "Los Angeles, Prototype or Supercity," Fortune, LXXI (March, 1965), p. 212. Smith also approves of mobility. "Whatever glass-and-steel monuments may be built downtown, the essence of Los Angeles, its true identifying characteristic, is mobility. . . . Perfection of this essential mobility will surely give Los Angeles an identity among the cities of the world such as no mere assemblage of buildings could ever match."

environment, mobility encourages the further fragmentation of power because small groups of people can readily create an independent governmental unit to satisfy their needs.

The flight to the suburbs is another problem associated with mobility in the metropolitan areas. The great expansion of the suburbs has meant a considerable increase in the number of incorporated cities. With regard to the Los Angeles area, Crouch and Dinerman conclude:

> These trends in population movements are not unique to Los Angeles. Consequences emanating from the development of urban areas and the subsequent "flight to the suburbs" have been felt throughout the nation, if not throughout the world. However, nowhere has the impact of these countervailing forces been more evident than in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.[16]

The large increase of incorporated cities in Los Angeles is due to two factors. First, there are a large number of new residents who do not identify with the metropolitan area and who think first in terms of their local community.[17] Secondly, until recently the incorporation

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[16]Crouch and Dinerman, op. cit., p. 259.

[17]Ibid., p. 212. Furthermore as the authors point out, "Suburbs in the Los Angeles area, unlike those in many other great metropolitan complexes of the United States, are not the products of any vast migration from the central city."

laws of the state have made it possible for local areas of considerable variation in size to become incorporated cities quite easily. Consequently local areas have often incorporated for reasons such as the desire to avoid higher taxes or racial integration. The expansion in the number of independent local governments has added to an already fragmented and decentralized governmental structure in the County.

Fragmented Power Structure

The unusual fragmentation of the political power structure is an important factor to be considered in relation to the political effectiveness of the denominations in the area. Two of the causes of the fragmentation are the legal and political traditions prevalent in the area and the distribution of authoritative decision-making power among community leaders other than elected officials.

1. Legal and Political Traditions

One of the traditions prevalent in Los Angeles is the spirit of localism.[18] This spirit has been fostered

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[18] Ibid., p. 286. "Great emphasis has been placed

and enhanced by the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian ideologies. These ideologies embrace the twin ideas of a "grass-roots" approach to authoritative decision-making and a distrust of those who exercise the power of institutional government.[19]

Localism is evident within the central city itself where there are elected honorary mayors of formerly independent cities such as Highland Park and Eagle Rock.[20] It is also evident in the only effective area-wide government, Los Angeles County. The County has decentralized its functional activities to accommodate the needs of widely separated sections of local residents comprising approxi-

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upon the fragmented loyalties of Los Angeles residents, as exemplified by the growth of distinct communities served by locally oriented community associations."

[19]Bollens and Schmandt, op. cit., pp. 493-494.

[20]Time, loc. cit. Time's description is apropos: "Los Angeles is an amalgam of disparate communities so bewildering that even natives do not know--or care--where one begins and the other leaves off. The city proper is complex enough, an agglomeration of 60-odd communities as different as elm-and-pine-shaded Encino in the San Fernando Valley and Venice, a tawdry oceanside spot ten miles to the South."

mately a million people who have not joined already established municipalities.[21]

The concept of a geographically and numerically small local community as the ideal one has been abetted by the decentralization of social and economic institutions as well as governmental ones.[22] Various instances of decentralization can be cited. The department stores and other commercial enterprises have established branches in heavily populated areas, lessening the need for the residents to leave the local area. The presence of local newspapers with very limited coverage of other than local news has increased the tendency of residents to think in terms of their local community rather than the larger community.

Religious organizations have followed the suburban

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[21]Meeker, op. cit., p. 10.

[22]Schnore, op. cit., p. 89. "It appears that all the typical activities--the so-called 'secondary' and 'tertiary' functions of fabrication, distribution, and control--have been subjected in some degree to the same forces of decentralization that have so dramatically altered the residential pattern within local areas. The reduction of the friction imposed by distance has had noticeable effects in almost every sphere of life."

trend, and the denominations have expended large sums of money on new churches in suburbia to satisfy the prestigious needs of the local congregations.[23] Because of their support of localism, the suburban churches have had a considerable impact in limiting the identification of members to their local area.[24] Like the neighborhood school the neighborhood church has become a symbol for the suburbanite of successful identification with the "American way of life."[25] Furthermore, the neighborhood church with the clergy attending to the personal needs of the local congregation has enhanced the concept of individualism appropriate to the confessional assembly approach to religion

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[23]Crouch and Dinerman, op. cit., pp. 268-278.

[24]Franklin H. Littell, From State Church to Pluralism (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962), p. 137. Littell has sharply criticized the suburban churches for their support of the concept of localism. "The image about which the churches' concept of their work takes form seems to be the re-creation of the pre-Revolutionary village as the standard form of community life. . . . The happy countryside of white, Protestant, virtuous America is the misbegotten dream used to justify every corrupt nativist scheme for oppressing and exploiting those who don't fit. . . . The effort to transform the image to the green lawns of suburbia continues, but it shatters on the high mobility and political irresponsibility characteristic of the new areas."

[25]Ironically, in the central area of Los Angeles

by providing an ordered religious refuge apart from the secular problems of the area-wide community.[26]

Another important tradition prevalent in Los Angeles is nonpartisanship as the ideal in the politics of local government. Nonpartisanship has given added impetus to the fragmentation of power. James Q. Wilson in his study of political clubs in Los Angeles reported, "California politics has been less a struggle and more a search for power."[27] Historically, "partisan activity continues to

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there are several spacious and beautiful churches which are rarely more than a third filled. They are easily accessible by freeway, and parking on Sunday is not a problem. A greater participation by the denominational membership in the activities of the inner-city churches would give the suburbanites more of a sense of identity with the metropolitan area, and a greater awareness of some of the problems of the city.

[26]Gibson Winter, The New Creation as Metropolis (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), pp. 66-67. Arguing for a different form of the church, Winter states: "Once the Church accepts her calling to be a living testimony of the Spirit in the world, she has to forego a safe anchorage in the cultic body or confessional assembly. The medieval and Reformation forms of the Church embodied the Message in the familial web of society. Once this web is broken and replaced by organizational forces, as it is in contemporary society, a new form of the Church is needed."

[27]James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 96.

be deeply molded by the anti-party legacy of Hiram Johnson and the statutory restrictions on political parties enacted over forty years ago."[28]

Political parties in other metropolitan areas have provided the necessary training and background for political leaders to work toward integration of the whole community, but they have been effectively prevented from doing so in Los Angeles. Political parties do not function as aggregators of interests in this metropolitan area; nonpartisanship has resulted in a prevalence of special-interest groups. These groups devote their attention to aggregating persons concerned with articulating and promoting a single dominant interest.[29] Thus nonpartisanship has encouraged the growth of ad hoc groups which support individual issues and are active only in the campaigns of individual candidates they favor. Power centers have developed around particular functional activities such as education, water, and police to the detriment of a general-purpose agency and the kind of responsible leadership

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[28] Ibid.

[29] Crouch and Dinerman, op. cit., p. 14.

needed for the integration of problem-solving on a metropolitan level.[30]

One area-wide advisory agency recently organized under state legislative authorization, the Southern California Association of Governments, has made a beginning in attacking regional problems. The Urban Affairs Editor of the Los Angeles Times has reported that although SCAG was originally created as a defensive measure to help the cities and counties retain their home rule prerogatives, it has emerged as a device for bringing some order to the

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[30] Ibid., p. 393. "Los Angeles, a relatively young metropolitan area, does not have among its leadership groups individuals whose interests are in a sense detached from interest-group advantage. Some great urban centers, such as New York and Philadelphia, have a cadre of senior statesmen who respond to calls for civic leadership from time to time. Some have "graduated" from the partisan battles or struggles of industry and have considerable wealth as well as personal prestige. Others are members of old families with inherited wealth who possess marked ability in their own right. To say that Los Angeles does not possess either type of potential leader is not to state a value judgment that such leadership is indispensable or that it is to be hoped for in the future. One must simply observe that no such types exist here, and that the types present and active will determine the choice of change in government of the metropolitan area, if there is to be change."

chaotic growth patterns of the area.[31]

While it is always difficult to determine cause and effect in socioeconomic and political affairs, in the Los Angeles area these two traditions, local home rule and nonpartisanship, are related to the absence of a single strong area-wide political leadership. Only the mayor of Los Angeles city holds an elective office with sufficient authority and prestige to speak for the area.[32] But the prestige and authority of this office is limited by the restrictions placed on the mayor's authority by a city charter which divides the authoritative decision-making power among the city council, the administrative commissions and departments, and the mayor himself. The mayor's ability to speak and act for the area is limited by jeal-

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[31]Ray Herbert, "SCAG Emerges as Force for Regional Order," Los Angeles Times, August 22, 1966, Part II, p. 1. See also Thadeus Eugene Shoemaker's "Local Agency Formation Commission" (unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1965).

[32]In regard to the mayor's prestige in the area, I found during my interviews with religious leaders in Los Angeles that the present mayor was evidently not held in high regard in some quarters in relation to his leadership on racial and poverty problems, two of the most crucial issues arising in urban areas today.

ousies and antipathies expressed by the suburban leaders towards the central city.[33] No Los Angeles mayor has been able to use the office as a springboard to higher political office.

As a result of the fragmentation of political authority, the denominations are not able to exert their influence on a single power center or group of leaders to achieve the goal of an integrated community. In contrast to the situation in Los Angeles, Mayor Daley in Chicago has overcome the decentralization and fragmentation of governmental authority by a centralization of power in his office. Banfield and Wilson have likened Mayor Daley to a man who performs an entrepreneurial function similar to that of a real estate broker who brings together in one place people who wish to buy and sell land. In the case of the Chicago Mayor the product is influence.[34] In conjunction with his broker ability, Mayor Daley has a firm

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[33]Crouch and Dinerman, op. cit., p. 388.

[34]Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and M.I.T. Press, 1963), pp. 104-105.

base for his position in his leadership of the Democratic Party organization in the Chicago area.

Thus, Dr. Martin Luther King in last summer's civil rights drive in Chicago was able to secure from the Mayor much of what he was seeking for the Negro minority group. It is significant that with the support of Chicago's religious leaders among other community leaders, Dr. King accomplished his ends by dealing directly with the Mayor. All of the ninety persons present at the final summit conference between Dr. King and Mayor Daley, including the heads of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish church bodies, were aware that the Mayor is able to exercise the power to carry out his part of the agreement, and that the city government is now fully committed to racial equality, open housing, and elimination of slums.[35]

An important point is apparent from the success of the Chicago civil rights drive. The great majority of the religious leaders of all faiths were united in the drive for improvement of the socioeconomic position of the

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[35]D. J. R. Bruckern, "Chicago Could Affect Future of Daley and King," Los Angeles Times, August 29, 1966, Part I, p. 7.

Negroes. In the metropolitan areas where Roman Catholicism is the largest religious association, it is essential for the success of a rights drive that the three major faiths work together. In Chicago the newly appointed diocesan bishop, Archbishop Cody from New Orleans, was clearly supporting the King drive. Unfortunately for Los Angeles, the Roman Catholic leadership has chosen not to take the lead or to cooperate with other religious associations in such drives.[36]

2. Distribution of Authoritative Decision-making Power

Another factor affecting the political role of the denominations in Los Angeles is the wide distribution of

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[36]Edward M. Keating, "The McIntyre/Goldwater Axis," Ramparts, III (November, 1964), p. 37. A Catholic himself, Mr. Keating is a strong critic of the Cardinal. "Cardinal McIntyre's extraordinary stand on race, his heavy concentration of finances and his support of the John Birch Society, as well as his newspaper's constant hate-communism campaign, have directly aided and comforted those forces that make up the Goldwater philosophy. The Cardinal has created an atmosphere of fear and apprehension that restricts liberal energies to sporadic and disjointed outbursts that are quickly squelched by the Cardinal himself or by his journalistic lackeys." In two efforts to interview Roman Catholic priests still in the Cardinal's good graces, I found much hesitancy on their part in making any kind of statement which might be attributed to them.

authoritative decision-making power. There are a large number of elected officials involved in the governmental jurisdictions of seventy-six municipalities and the county government. However, there are even more in the various kinds of special districts that abound in the area.[37] Appointed officials in these governments who make political as well as administrative decisions also exercise significant influence in determining policies.

The findings of Agger and his colleagues have shown that manifest and potentially manifest political leaders are often social and economic notables apart from the elected and administrative officials.[38] The number and

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[37]Smith, Fortune, LXXI, p. 210. "The multiplicity of cities would naturally be expected to produce such irritants, but Los Angeles is also crammed with special tax districts, usually single-purpose organizations perforce designed to provide local service at no risk to local sovereignties. There are now 246 of these in the county-cemetery districts, debris districts, hospital districts, garbage districts, library districts, ad infinitum; many overlap and most operate substantially without democratic control either by local government or by the individual resident--who, typically, finds he must support anywhere from six to ten of them."

[38]Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), pp. 324-325. Manifest leaders on any issues, however, constitute only a fraction of the total political leadership of the community's power structure.

influence of social and economic leaders depend on the individuals and the type of community under analysis.[39] Therefore, in order for the denominations to actively influence authoritative decision-making in the power centers, the political leaders of whatever kind of responsible for these decisions have to be known to the denominations and their allies. The political leadership wherever it is found must also be susceptible to the influence of voluntary organizations like the denominations.

Although empirical studies have been carried out on the decision-making process in smaller communities, not a great deal has been done in relation to studying this process in the larger cities or in metropolitan areas. This is especially true of the large urban areas in the West.[40] Consequently, it is necessary for the denomina-

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[39] Ibid., Chapter viii, passim. For other analyses of community power structure, see Robert Dahl's Who Governs, and Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure.

[40] Agger, et al., op. cit., p. 760. Agger, et al., in their speculations on the applicability of their findings to the big cities exclude the cities of the West. "In extending our speculations we shall be concerned with the big cities of the East and Midwest, rather than the newer large cities of the West. But the extent to which cities like Los Angeles and San Francisco resemble St. Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York more than they

tions to rely on studies primarily concerned with the analysis of governmental and legal institutions and on the impressions of individuals who are most qualified to make judgments concerning the political leaders active in the decision-making process in this area.[41]

Under the circumstances of divisiveness and fragmentation in Los Angeles in which the denominations must function, they need a consensual constituency within their own ranks if they are going to effectively influence political decisions. Such a constituency is also necessary for effectiveness in integrating the minorities and the poor into the community. Also because the metropolitan area is so fragmented, a united constituency would be helpful in making available to the community the type of leadership capable of thinking and acting in terms of metropolitan-wide interests.

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do an Oretown during the late 1940's and early 1950's can only be decided by further research."

[41]An Episcopal priest in the East Los Angeles Parish reported that in his opinion five men held the most power in the area. They were the Board of Supervisors of the County. He also stated that two of these men were by far the most powerful, and that very few decisions could be made without their approval and consent.

However, the denominations do not have a consensual constituency. There are divisions among the clergy as well as the laity. One of the divisions among the clergy is on the desirability of having a metropolitan-wide government. They are divided on this issue for very practical reasons.[42]

Seven of the twenty-four clergymen responding registered disapproval of a regional type of government.[43] Of the seven who responded negatively, three were pastors of well-established Negro parishes in the central city. They had neither sought nor attained significant influential status in the white community.[44] Three were white

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[42]Although there was no measure of intensity of feeling on this issue, it was my impression that even the clergy in favor of it were not enthusiastic about a drastic governmental reorganization in the area.

[43]Some of the clergymen interviewed are not included in this sample because they failed to respond to the question. However, these eighteen clerics represent a small cross-section of the area in regard to geographic and socioeconomic placement.

[44]Several Negro clergymen expressed the belief that of the three Negro members of the city council only one, Thomas Bradley, had not been absorbed into the city's white power structure.

clergymen with middle class parishes in racially mixed areas of the central city. They indicated a conservative approach to politics and to religion.[45] The seventh was a white minister in an historically distinctive area of the central city. He had a white working class congregation, and he felt his constituents were ignored by the city as it is.

Inasmuch as the numbers are not large, they cannot be considered conclusive; however, they are in line with the findings in other urban centers. Negro clergymen like Negro politicians--the two are often synonymous--who have their power base in the Negro community are not likely to want their influence in the central city to be diluted by the addition of white suburbs to the city's voting lists.[46]

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[45]On a series of eleven questions dealing with decisions of the Supreme Court on recent issues, these clergymen disapproved not only of the Court's general approach to Constitutional questions but of specific liberal decisions such as those on school prayers, Bible reading, Constitutional rights of the Communist Party, and governmental aid to private and parochial institutions in the interest of the general welfare. By reputation among the clergy, the congregations served by these clergymen as well as the ministerial staff were considered to be conservatively oriented.

[46]One Negro clergyman in this group stated that he thought it was just fine that some whites could have their little islands of segregation in the suburbs.

In this regard Bollens and Schmandt found that:

> For the most part, Negro political leaders look with disfavor on efforts to reorder the system. Their base of operation and strength lies in the central city. An area-wide government poses a threat to their hard-won and long-in-coming major political influence by joining the predominantly white electorate of suburbia to that of the core municipality.[47]

The disapproval by conservative clergymen is in line with the fear, prevalent among conservatives, of adding to the scope of governmental activities.

There is a discernible pattern among those who favored a regional government. Of the seventeen respondents who favored such a government, seven of them were representatives of prosperous suburban parishes. They were somewhat removed from the difficult problems of race and poverty in the central city and its adjoining municipalities.[48] Furthermore one of the two Negroes in this

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[47]Bollens and Schmandt, op. cit., p. 503.

[48]Ibid., p. 523. The evidence also supports this finding: "Voters who support metropolitan reform tend to be drawn from the better educated and high socioeconomic categories." This type of person lives in communities not in direct contact with the poor or underprivileged minority groups, and he does not feel threatened by the geographical expansion of the minority group enclaves.

group who favored a regional government was the pastor of one of the wealthiest and most influential Negro churches in the central city. He had been accepted by and given positions of importance in the white community, and he had been involved in many community activities.[49] The other Negro clergyman who was favorable had been here for less than a year. He served a Negro middle class parish in the Negro Watts section of Los Angeles. He had not had time to build a political base. Two young white clergymen had been in the area for less than six months and were not completely familiar with the problems in Los Angeles. One had come here after serving in New York's East Harlem Protestant Parish and served a middle class suburban parish as Minister of Education. The other came from an inner city parish in Cincinnati and served as pastor of middle class Negro parish in the Negro community. Another white clergyman had been here for about a year and served a poor section of the Mexican-American community. Since the last two are Anglo-Americans, they are unlikely to establish a political base in their local communities. Three others

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[49]In some interviews respondents made reference to this individual as a good example of an Uncle Tom.

were church administrators concerned with urban problems, and two were liberals striving for an urban training center in Los Angeles for clergy and laity.

Consequently, on the basic issue of re-organizing the metropolitan area into some kind of meaningful whole politically, the denominational clergy were not in agreement. The acceptance by the clergy of a political ideology based on existential theology could provide the foundation for reconciling the differences that existed between these segments of the denominations. The political ideology of what Agger and his colleagues call the community conservationists is most appropriate for this purpose:

> Community Conservationists are also collectivists. They view the community as a complex of mutually interdependent parts where the individual good and the common good are naturally compatible, if not identical. They see the values of community life maximized when political leadership is exercised by men representing the public at large, rather than "special interests" . . . Elected public officials and appointed professional public administrators must be guardians, as well as the architects and builders, of this public interest.[50]

If the denominational clergy accepted such an ideology, they would find it necessary to emphasize different values.

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[50]Agger, et al., op. cit., p. 21.

Instead of achieving redemption and salvation through acts of piety or through material aggrandizement, servanthood in this world would be the key to these ultimate goals of man.

The clergy seem more inclined to accept an appropriate theology and political role for the church in modern urban society than is the laity. Consequently an important task for the clergy will be to convince the communicants of the desirability of making the entire denominational community a collectivity serving the metropolitan area. John Pratt, an attorney and Executive Director of the Commission on Church and Race of the Southern California Council of Churches, has summed it up in terms of the answer Jesus gave to the rich young ruler who inquired how he might achieve salvation and redemption:

> Rid yourself of dependence upon material things, which both bind and blind you; use the talents at your command to aid your fellow human beings who stand in suffering and in need; and make a commitment to something beyond yourself.[51]

If the denominations achieve a consensus on the political role of the church in urban areas, they can be more suc-

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[51]"Churches Told to Give Possessions to Poor," Los Angeles Times, August 15, 1966, Part I, p. 16.

cessful in influencing the authoritative decision-making process in the fragmented power structure of Los Angeles.

Demographic Factors

The social geography of Los Angeles also presents relevant features which affect the political role of the denominations in helping to make the area an integrated community. Population composition, religious membership distribution, and various socioeconomic factors are to be considered in the following section of this chapter.

One of the most important population distribution features in Los Angeles is the socioeconomic position of minority groups and the indigent. Their position in urban American is an important obstacle in preventing a meaningful integration of the metropolitan community.

As in all metropolitan areas, Los Angeles has a large proportion of minority groups. The two largest groups are the Negroes and the Mexican-Americans.[52] Again

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[52]Meeker, op. cit., p. 51. The Census Bureau reported that in 1960 there were 576,716 people with Spanish surnames in Los Angeles, an increase of 101.6 per cent and accounting for 9.5 per cent of the total County population. There were 461,546 Negroes representing a gain of 111.8 per cent and 7.6 per cent of the County population. The McCone

the significant difference between Los Angeles and other metropolitan areas is that more members of the minority groups are newcomers to this area.[53] Between 1950 and 1960 Los Angeles showed a greater gain in non-white immigrants, both numerically and proportionately, than any other metropolitan area. Although both New York and Chicago showed greater total increases during this decade, this was due largely to natural increase rather than immigration.[54]

As a result of this large immigration there are substantial numbers of people in the area with different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds than the European-white middle class resident. These immigrants are located

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Commission reported that by the end of 1965 there were about 650,000 Negroes here, an additional increase since 1960 of almost 200,000 people.

[53]In interviews with Negro clergymen, it was clear that there is a cleavage within the Negro religious community itself in relation to the relatively prosperous and well-established Negro residents and the poor newcomers who are more or less restricted for economic reasons to certain areas of the Negro ghetto.

[54]Meeker, op. cit., p. 51.

primarily in specific sections of the central city and closely adjoining areas. However, the Spanish-surname population and the other major non-white minority group, the Orientals,[55] are dispersed throughout the County--especially the successful ones.[56] Nevertheless, certain areas are predominantly Mexican-American or Oriental. The Negroes are more narrowly confined within the central sections of Los Angeles city and the areas immediately adjacent, such as Compton, Pacoima, and Willowbrook, than are the other minorities. The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations in 1961 concluded that "Los Angeles is more segregated than any major southern city in the entire country--compared to northern cities, Los Angeles has fewer Negroes living in the suburbs than any major cities except Chicago and Cleveland."[57]

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[55] Ibid. There were 123,359 other non-whites in Los Angeles in 1960 consisting primarily of Orientals and a few American Indians. The immigration of Orientals into the United States has practically ceased because of the Congressional restrictions.

[56] Ibid., p. 59.

[57] Ibid., p. 54.

Because there is considerably evidence available to show that the situation in regard to segregation has not changed in the intervening years since 1961,[58] the denominations still have an opportunity to exercise religious and political leadership to establish and further communication and interaction among all sections of the area-wide community. It is ironical that the McCone Commission had nothing to say about the religious leadership exercised in the area.[59]

The denominations could enhance their political role as well as their religious role in the community by effective communication and interaction with the majority of the Negroes. Political leaders would be much more ready to listen and act on denominational proposals if they could speak for a majority of the Negroes in addition to their white membership. Unfortunately, the denominations

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[58]Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, Violence in the City--An End or A Beginning (Los Angeles, 1965), p. 75. The Commission found that, "Of the entire Negro population in Los Angeles, 88.6 per cent resides in areas considered segregated, concentrated for the most part in the 46.5 square miles of south central Los Angeles placed under curfew last August."

[59]Ibid., pp. 81-86.

have not had an extensive communications network or much interaction with the working or lower class Negroes. Moreover, Negro influence within the denominations has been limited to the middle class Negro.

Class has been a determinant of the membership and the clergy in the denominational churches. William Peterson, Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, has pointed out, "No less than their parishioners, Protestant clergymen have come largely from rural communities and the middle or lower middle class."[60] Historically, "in the United States as in England, the gap between the established Protestant denominations and the urban masses reflected first the all-class hostility."[61] In producing a stultifying conformism values associated with the middle class have limited creative thinking among the denominations.

The class bias is as true of the Negro denominational churches as it is of the white churches. In eight

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[60]William Peterson, "The Protestant Ethos and the Anti-Urban Animus," The Church and the Exploding Metropolis, ed. Robert Lee (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965), p. 63.

[61]Ibid.

Negro denominational churches in the inner city, six were designated by the senior clergyman as serving a middle class congregation;[62] in an all-Negro denomination, one clergyman served a working class membership. The eighth clergyman served a working and lower middle class constituency. Two integrated churches where at least one third of the membership was Negro were both designated by their pastors as serving a middle class congregation. Two small membership churches in the Mexican-American community served a lower and working class membership, and neither church was self-supporting. Based on the tabulations of each clergyman interviewed, the eight almost exclusively Negro denominational churches had a combined membership of 12,984, the two integrated churches had a combined membership of 415, and the two Mexican-American churches had less than 400.

It should be noted that all of the Negro clergymen interviewed were educated, articulate men, well aware of

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[62]In a recent research survey in one Negro church in a working class section, it was found that the average annual family income for its members was $6,100 and that 31.5 per cent of the members were employed in professional and technical fields.

the problems of the minorities and the inner city. But their better education in itself would be an important factor in setting them apart from the working and lower class Negroes.[63] These Negro clergymen may understand more about the problems of the Negro in the inner city than do the white suburban clergymen with whom they are associated in denominational and church councils. But they have accepted white middle class values as the most desirable ones for the Negroes. These values are not the basis for a solution to the problems of the residents of the inner city.

It seems that the primary goal of these clergymen is to achieve integration for themselves and their middle class parishioners on an equal basis in the white community. They want to be disassociated with the ghetto area and its less fortunate residents.

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[63]One active Negro clergyman remarked that he was not accepted by the man in overalls as a leader or spokesman for the Negroes and that he represented only a minority within a minority. Accordingly, it is noteworthy that at least two of the Negro clergymen interviewed lived in rather expensive but integrated sections of the central city, a considerable distance from their churches. One clergyman commented in relation to this point that he lived where he did so that his children would have better opportunities.

As a result of the middle class bias of the denominations, many working and lower class Negroes as well as whites attend some form of Baptist, Pentecostal, or Holiness Church unrelated to the denominations. One might also speculate that because of the middle class bias a group composed largely of young male adults and newcomers to the urban scene does not identify with any Christian religious organization.[64]

Although not as much effort was made to investigate the other large minority group, the Spanish-surname population, the denominational churches have less of a following there than in the Negro community. Most importantly, unlike the Negroes these people have a Roman Catholic heritage. But like the majority of the Negroes, Mexican-Americans and others with a Spanish surname who are not Roman Catholics find a greater appeal in the fundamentalist associations that are not so imbued with a middle class bias. Moreover a fundamentalist approach emphasizing the collectivity concept inclusive of all who accept

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[64]"Crisis of Color '66," Newsweek, LXVIII (August 22, 1966), p. 52. In a study of Harlem in New York City Newsweek reported that "Old-time religion in a basement church is mostly for women and children."

correct doctrine would also have more of an appeal than the denominations' liberal or orthodox conservative approach with its emphasis on individualism.

On the political scene although both of the minority groups have representation on the Los Angeles City Council and in the legislatures, the representation is drawn from the middle class. For the most part the political representatives of minorities like the denominational clergy have gone along with the "don't rock the boat" approach. Until recently the working and lower class groups have not attempted to form a power bloc capable of making demands on the governments.

Apart from the two large minority groups--Negro and Mexican-American--and some sections which have a distinctive Jewish subculture, Los Angeles has no large enclaves of a particular ethnic background, such as the Italians in San Francisco or the Swedes in Minneapolis. In these cities European ethnic minorities have an important influence on the decision-making process.[65] Los An-

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[65]Bollens and Schmandt, op. cit., p. 94. "The number and importance of ethnic groups vary from city to city, with the largest concentrations outside the South. In urban cities such as Boston, New York, San Francisco,

geles County's population is relatively heterogeneous, exclusive of the uninfluential minority groups mentioned. Distinctions in residential communities as far as the whites are concerned are based more on socioeconomic factors than on ethnic background.

An explanation for the heterogeneous population lies in the fact that immigrants are at least second and third generation Americans. Immigration from Europe and especially southern and central Europe had been severely curtailed by Congress in the immigration acts of the twenties, the depression of the thirties, and the two world wars in this century. Consequently, the immigrants into Los Angeles of European background have already become acculturated.

As a result, the denominations are not confronted by a cohesive ethnic group or groups exerting influence over or within the community power structure. In this respect, they are in a better position to exercise ecumen-

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Minneapolis, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit, many different nationalities are represented. Some one group may predominate--in San Francisco, the Italians; in Minneapolis, the Swedes; in Los Angeles, the Mexican-Americans . . . but for the most part the pattern is one of ethnic diversity."

ical political leadership than in the older metropolitan areas where such groups do exist. It is even more significant for the denominations because in some of the older central cities, the ethnic groups are predominantly Roman Catholics, and they are often able to elect the political authorities from among their own ranks. For example, the mayors of many of the nation's large cities are Roman Catholics.

Nevertheless, the religious distribution of the Los Angeles area is not altogether favorable for the denominations. Although membership statistics are difficult to obtain and are not entirely reliable, the denominations represent approximately 15 per cent of the population or about a million people.[66] On the other hand, Cardinal McIntyre is the spiritual leader of more than a million and a half Roman Catholics.[67] He has been noted for his ultra-conservative approach to religion and poli-

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[66]A Methodist clergyman extrapolated from the membership statistics of the jurisdiction of Bishop Kennedy and arrived at a figure of approximately 140,000 Methodists in Los Angeles County. The Methodists are considered to have the largest membership of any of the denominations in the area.

[67]Keating, loc. cit.

tics and his disinclination to cooperate effectively with the denominations.[68] In addition to Roman Catholics in Los Angeles, fundamentalists and other religious groups not included in or cooperating with the denominations constitute a large proportion of the church membership in the area, probably a higher percentage than the denominations.

Furthermore, in a relatively new and technologically advanced community, there is a structural conduciveness for the viability of bizarre movements.[69] Thus in addition to the more or less established fundamentalist organizations, unusual religious cults and independent churches tend to flourish in the area. Many of these

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[68]Cardinal McIntyre has not gone along with the denominations on Project Equality. In this Project the denominations and the Jews have listed firms that do not discriminate against minorities and churches and synagogues are expected to buy from these firms. The Catholic Bishops of San Francisco and San Diego are cooperating.

[69]Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 15. "We read that financial booms and panics, fashion cycles and crazes do not plague simple, traditional societies; we also read that America as a civilization is prone to such seizures, and that, within America, places like Los Angeles and Detroit are especially productive of bizarre movements.

organizations have an ultra-conservative orientation in politics and religion. In the quest for social justice in metropolis, the denominations cannot expect much help from this quarter.

The Orthodox Church also commands a substantial following in the Greek and Armenian communities, and there is a large Jewish population. But the Jewish population is not large enough to be a separate power bloc as it is in New York City for instance. On the whole, however, these two religious groups have cooperated with the denominations in community affairs and concerns.[70]

Finally it should be noted that the largest group of any is the religiously unaffiliated or unchurched and the indifferent. Several ministers commented on the magnitude of this group in Los Angeles in comparison with other urban areas. The extent of this group is due to the

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[70]Banfield and Wilson, op. cit., p. 42. With regard to the Jews, the authors state, "It is interesting that the Jews have not sought ethnic 'recognition' in city politics to the extent that other groups have. It may be that they have never doubted their worth as a group, and therefore have not felt any need for public reassurance. More likely, however, their political ethos is such that a politics of ethnic appeal strikes them, as it does the Anglo-Saxon Protestant, as uninteresting and even immoral."

recentness of the great immigration as well as the high degree of residential mobility within the area. In new neighborhoods, people are less subject to social pressures encouraging church attendance.

Socioeconomic Factors

Socioeconomic factors are also relevant to the political role of the denominations. According to three significant indicators of socioeconomic level--income, occupation, and education--the residents of Los Angeles have a higher standard of living than the average for the United States as well as for all urbanized areas in the country.[71]

In regard to income, the median family income in Los Angeles County in 1959 was $7,046, compared with a national average of $5,857 for the United States and with $6,163 for all urbanized areas.[72] Considering the continuing immigration of people into Los Angeles, a differential remains in effect. Moreover, the differential might

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[71]Meeker, op. cit., p. 47.

[72]Ibid.

be higher between this and other urban areas if it were not for the fact that a large proportion of the low-income families is found among the two principal minority groups in the County.[73]

On the labor front the data show:

> By 1960 the composition of the total United States labor force was approaching that of the Los Angeles labor force of 1950, though even then Los Angeles had a larger proportion of professionals and clerical workers and a smaller proportion of unskilled laborers than the national labor force of ten years later.[74]

In 1960 professional, technical, and kindred workers accounted for 15 per cent of the labor force in Los Angeles, but in the United States as a whole this group totaled 11.8 per cent. Professional and clerical workers combined totaled slightly more than one-third of the work force in Los Angeles whereas the figure for the United States was 26.6 per cent.[75] However, the minority groups are in a less fortunate position than the whites. According to the report of the McCone Commission, there are about 160,000 unemployed in the County. The Negro unemployment

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[73] Ibid., p. 49.

[74] Ibid., p. 43.

[75] Ibid.

rate is two or three times that in the white community, and "from all indications, there are some 25,000 unemployed Negroes in the central section of Los Angeles County and probably an equal number of unemployed Mexican-Americans."[76]

In 1960 the level of educational attainment was also found to be significantly higher than the national average. More than half of the population of Los Angeles twenty-five years of age and over had obtained at least a high school education and almost 10 per cent had completed college or better. The national average showed that about 40 per cent had finished four years of high school or more and around 8 per cent had a college education or better.[77] But here again the minority groups do not have the same advantage as the European whites. The Spanish-surname population had the lowest educational attainment of all groups in Los Angeles.[78] Median years of school completed

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[76]Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, op. cit., p. 41.

[77]Meeker, op. cit., p. 50.

[78]Jose Antonio Villarreal, "Mexican Americans in Upheaval," West (September 18, 1966), p. 21. "The facts are: that 76 per cent of the Mexican adult population in

in this group was only 9.0, whereas for non-whites it was 11.1 and for the Anglo-whites it was 12.2.[79] The recent findings of the McCone Commission show, "Essentially, the reading and writing level of students in the disadvantaged areas is far too low for them either to advance in school or to function effectively in society."[80]

Although the non-white urban population of Los Angeles ranks well above the non-white urban population of the United States with respect to education, income, and occupational characteristics, there is a wide gap between the middle class Protestant denominational membership and the minorities.[81] For example, in the lowest social rank

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California is employed in unskilled occupations, that they are two years behind the Negro in scholastic achievement, and that they are four years behind the non-minority citizens of the state."

[79]Meeker, loc. cit.

[80]Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, op. cit., p. 52. Furthermore, "Dropout rates (percentage of average yearly attendance) show that three of the high schools that serve students who reside in disadvantaged areas of south central Los Angeles have the highest percentage of dropouts of the 45 senior high schools. In these three schools in predominantly Negro areas, about two-thirds of the students who enter drop out before graduating from high school."

[81]Meeker, op. cit., p. 57.

areas--Social Rank VI which was assigned by the Research Department of Welfare Planning Council to 19 of 134 Study Areas in the County--minorities comprised 50 per cent or more of the total population in half of these areas, and there are only two areas in this group where minorities account for less than 10 per cent of the total population.[82] There are, of course, indigent European Caucasians who live in these areas. If the denominational leadership is to help in overcoming this gap between the haves and have nots, it will inevitably bring them into the political arena.

The higher standard of living for the majority in Los Angeles affects the efforts of the denominations in politics in other ways as well. Because the aspirations of many families rise when they move to Los Angeles, the home-pool-patio complex has become more a way of life here than in other parts of the United States.[83] This has led to a greater concern for property values as it is evidenced by the support given to Proposition Fourteen in this area compared with other urban areas in California, exclusive of Orange County.

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[82] Ibid., p. 82. [83] Ibid., p. 48.

As a result of these aspirations, the desire for such things as better housing, pools, and automobiles also leads to a greater participation of women in the labor force. More women are employed outside the home than is true of the nation as a whole, and 57 per cent of them were married and living with their husbands.[84] In families where both the husband and wife were working, they were not as likely to find time for church attendance and other religious activities. This factor helps to account for the large number of unchurched people in the area, and it reduces the effectiveness of the denominations in achieving the goal of a political community.

In this chapter it was pointed out that local traditions, the decentralization, and the fragmentation of governmental authority in the Los Angeles area made it difficult for the denominations to exert their political influence in order to achieve the goal of a political community. The denominational clergy themselves were not always in agreement as to how this end should be accomplished. Demographic and socioeconomic factors were also important in determining what the role of the denominations

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[84] Ibid.

should be in regard to a political community. In the next chapter, the attitudes expressed by the denominational clergy toward political issues are briefly analyzed.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE CLERGY

The material in this chapter will deal with political attitudes of the denominational clergy in Los Angeles in relation to liberalism and conservatism, Supreme Court decisions, political parties, and pertinent controversial issues in an urbanized community. The political attitudes of the clergy are important in determining what political role the denominations can be expected to play in the community. Attitudes are significant in determining what that role is because they reflect the approach which the religious leaders have toward the secular problems of the area. Their approach to these problems determines whether the political role is likely to be an active and prophetic one or a role that will be passive and supportive of the status quo.

Conservativism and Liberalism

For the purposes of this chapter the political attitudes of the clergy are subsumed under two rubrics.

As is the case with any dichotomization, this classification is too simple since it eliminates all of the degrees between the two pure categories. But for convenience of analysis in this chapter, the clergy who believe the denominations should have an active and prophetic function in metropolitan secular problems are in one group. Those who believe the denominations should concern themselves primarily with the spiritual welfare of individual communicants are in the other group. For lack of more appropriate descriptive terms, the former group will be called liberal and the latter, conservative. On the basis of respondents' answers, it was found, not unexpectedly, that liberals favored such things as the Supreme Court's recent decisions delineating more precisely the relationship between the religious associations and the secular state, the denominations' stand against the passage of Proposition Fourteen in 1964 in California, and the denominations' active role in civil rights issues. Conservatives, on the other hand, were found to be opposed to these things.

There were not so many conservatives as liberals interviewed for this study for several reasons. First, there were more liberals than conservatives in the denominations, and they were evenly dispersed geographically

throughout the area.[1] Conversely, conservatives can be found in large numbers in the fundamentalist religious associations, in some Lutheran bodies, and in the non-Biblical charismatically centered groups.[2] Second, liberals were more likely than conservatives to be interested in and working toward the ideas and goals with which this paper is concerned. Consequently, the liberals were of greater interest than conservatives for this study because they provide the basis for the acceptance and success of the contemporary political role of the denominations in an urban community. Third, some conservatives declined to be interviewed, and others did not return the telephone calls. In the latter circumstance, at least two calls were made in every instance in an effort to contact the clergyman. Fourth, conservative denominational clergy were more concentrated in certain sections of the County, and they were more likely than liberals to follow a distinctive pattern

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[1]This was the consensus of the opinions expressed by the clergy that were interviewed and my own observations in the area.

[2]As it has been previously stated, these religious associations are not usually affiliated with the denominations in ecumenical activities in the community.

in relation to the concerns of this paper. As a result it became evident that fewer conservatives were needed to determine what that pattern was. The conservatives that were interviewed pointed out that their conservative colleagues who were not interviewed were likely to have a similar attitude to theirs.

The first two reasons for the predominance of liberals interviewed have been touched on in other parts of the paper, and the third reason is self-explanatory. The fourth reason requires some elaboration.

Although conservatives were located in churches throughout the area, there were areas where they were found more frequently than others. Conservatives were often found in older churches serving a long-established white middle or upper middle class parish in the commercial areas of the cities. Adjacent residential areas were rapidly changing racially or ethnically and declining socioeconomically.[3] For example, in the white churches

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[3]Robert L. Wilson and James H. Davis, The Church in the Racially Changing Community (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 120. Wilson and Davis, who are both clergymen and hold doctorates in the sociology of religion, describe this type of church in contrast to the socially responsible one. "The contrasting viewpoint is a church which consid-

in the central sections of the Los Angeles city commercial areas, the parishioners were frequently older people who no longer resided in the immediately surrounding area.[4] Thus, the membership of these churches in the business area was predominantly or exclusively Anglo-white even though their geographical location indicated an ethnically and racially mixed working class congregation. There was also a prevalence of conservatives in long-established denominational churches in the older and locally oriented communities such as Long Beach and Glendale.

As far as the influence of these churches and their clergy was concerned, they have been able to maintain considerable influence in the community power structure and in denominational councils. Their influence has

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ers itself a group of people who gather together because of certain beliefs. A congregation of this type will not necessarily feel a special responsibility to the neighborhood in which the building is located. Unless a church has a sense of mission toward the inhabitants of the nearby community, it will continue to serve only white members, an increasing portion of whom will be commuting back to the church."

[4]Two clergymen from different denominations in the downtown area reported that most of their members were people 50 years of age or more. A third denominational church has been characterized by the clergy in that denomination as being Victorian in its membership.

been maintained because these churches have counted many community leaders in their memberships, and because the contributions from these churches for denominational activities has been substantial.

Consequently, the conservatives were found to be a more closely-knit doctrinal grouping within the denominations than the liberals, for several reasons. First, because of their concentration in certain areas, they had considerable social interaction among themselves. Second, because they constituted a minority faction within the denominations, for defensive reasons they joined together against the innovations of the liberals. Conservatives were also defending a well-established theological position. Liberals were not as cohesive in their doctrinal approach as the conservatives because they were exploring new and untried theological positions in relation to an active political role for the denominations.

Not only were the conservatives a minority among the denominational clergy, but the respective administrative hierarchies of the denominations have recently adopted a liberal approach to the role of the denominations in

political and secular affairs in Los Angeles.[5] Until the present decade the administrative leaders in Los Angeles were guided by a conservative orientation in both politics and religion. There was considerable evidence to support the conclusion about the change in orientation of the administrative officials. This evidence will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

All of the denominational clergy interviewed were aware of the need for Christianity to be meaningful on the basis of its own religious merit in a secular society. The disagreement between the liberals and conservatives was over the means to accomplish this goal in a modern urban community. The political attitudes of the clergy reflected the differences in means considered appropriate to achieve this goal.

Supreme Court Decisions

In recent years the Supreme Court has delineated

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[5]This conclusion was based on the opinions of the respondents and on my observations of the administrative leaders in various capacities in relation to recent issues in which they have been involved.

more precisely than in the past what the relationship is between the secular state and the religious associations. The consequences of the decisions of the Court have affected the means by which the denominations are able to function effectively in the community. The liberal clergy recognized that a new method for achieving the goal of making Christianity meaningful in modern society was necessary. Consequently, they agreed with the decisions of the Court on school prayers; Bible reading in school; constitutional rights of everyone including atheists and members of the Communist Party; legislative reapportionment which would ultimately lessen the rural Protestant hold on state and local government; and integration of the races and ethnic minorities into the community on an equal basis. Conservatives disapproved of the Court's decisions on these issues.

The only decision of the Court with which both liberal and conservative clergy were in substantial disagreement was the one allowing for the expenditure of public funds for general welfare purposes which could also benefit private or parochial agencies. The majority (20 clergymen) approved of the decision but a large minority (11 clergymen) disapproved. The most frequent reason

given by the clergy for disapproval was that the financial support of private and parochial schools by the governments would inhibit the growth and development of the public schools. Five of the eleven clergymen who disapproved represented small congregations in the Negro and Mexican-American communities.[6] One represented a very large working class congregation in the Watts area. The conservatives, except for the two Roman Catholic priests, also disagreed with the decision. The liberal clergy that represented financially stable middle class churches approved of this type of expenditure of public funds.

It is reasonable to speculate that the reason the clergy representing small congregations in the ghetto areas disapproved of the decision is that they assumed that in the future it will add to the precariousness of their position and influence in these areas. Successful

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[6]One of these clergymen who disapproved had graduated from Boston University. He was very much concerned about the unequal position of the public schools vis-a-vis Roman Catholic parochial schools in Boston. He felt the parochial schools had "gutted" the public schools there, and he did not want to see that happen here. In the Los Angeles Negro ghetto area, at least two Roman Catholic parishes have built elementary schools across the street from already existing public elementary schools.

middle class people within the minority groupings have often sent their children to parochial schools in order for them to have the benefit of a better education than is obtainable in the overcrowded public schools in the ghetto areas.[7] As a result of the improvements in parochial schools which will be afforded by government aid, more people will be attracted to Roman Catholic and other parochial schools and thence to the churches sponsoring them. The denominations except for the Episcopal Church do not maintain parochial schools.

The conservatives disagreed with the decision primarily because they were opposed to the extension of federal and state governments' jurisdiction into local matters. They expressed the opinion that this decision is only another entering wedge by which the higher and more distant governments will be able to have control of the local school systems. Related to the conservatives'

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[7]Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, Violence in the City--An End or A Beginning (Los Angeles, 1965), p. 54. "Although double sessions exist in all subdivisions of the entire school system, the disadvantaged areas have more double sessions than any other part of the city. During the current school year, more than three-quarters of the 26,200 students on double sessions attend schools where the enrollment is predominantly Negro or Mexican-American."

fear of centralization of power is their doctrinal position on individualism in relation to achieving redemption and salvation. Consequently, in their view, extensive welfare programs of any kind inhibit an individual's initiative, and thus his ability to attain religious self-fulfillment through divinely ordained materially productive work within the secular community. The correlation of individual salvation with materially productive work is a carry-over from the work ethic peculiar to nineteenth century American Protestantism.[8]

A few liberals joined with the conservatives in expressing disapproval of the Court's recent decision upholding the constitutional rights of members of the Communist Party in regard to registering with the Attorney General's office as members of the Party. Some other liberals were hesitant in expressing approval of this decision, but apparently in ultimately agreeing they

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[8]Both liberal and conservative clergy in religious associations such as the Presbyterian Church with a continuing strongly Calvinistic orientation believed that the Protestant work ethic was still applicable to modern urban society.

adhered to the idea that constitutional rights must apply to all citizens if such rights are to be meaningful.

On the Court's general approach to constitutional questions since 1940, all of the liberals indicated they approved more than they disapproved. Many of the liberals when asked to single out a particular decision with which they especially agreed mentioned the desegregation decisions. On the other hand, conservatives indicated they disapproved more than they approved of the Court's broad approach to constitutional questions. They especially disapproved of the Court's decisions concerning criminal activities and the Communist Party.

Political Parties

The political attitudes of the liberal clergy were not correlated with their party affiliation or preference. Although more liberals preferred the Democratic Party, there was a sizeable minority that preferred the Republican Party.[9] There were Republican liberals among both the

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[9]Most of the liberal Republicans stated that they voted for President Johnson rather than Senator Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election. However, in the presidential election of 1960, four liberals, two Republicans

Negro and white clergy. But because the Republican Party has a greater appeal for conservatives than the Democratic Party in many areas outside of the South including Los Angeles, it was not surprising that all of the conservative clergy interviewed had a preference for the Republican Party.[10]

Among all of the clergy who indicated a political party preference, there was a 58-42 per cent division favoring the Democratic Party. The percentage of the clergy who favored the Democratic Party was similar to that of the general public.[11] But the percentage of the

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and two Democrats, indicated that they had voted for Vice President Nixon because of Senator Kennedy's Roman Catholic religious affiliation. Both of the liberal Republicans made statements in their sermons about Kennedy's religion and their opposition to having a Roman Catholic as President. But ten denominational clergymen reported that they had voted for Kennedy.

[10]It appears likely from the statements made by the clergy that were interviewed and from the public statements of conservative clergymen that there were very few conservatives in Los Angeles who did not prefer the Republican Party.

[11]V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (5th edition, rev.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1964), p. 213. The data for the general public are based on the distribution of five national samples covering the period from 1952-1961.

clergy who preferred the Republican Party was greater than that of the general public whose preference has ranged between 30 and 35 per cent. Since there was only one independent among the interviewees, it can be suggested that the clergy were more likely than the general public to have a political party preference. From 8 to 10 per cent of the general public claimed to be independent in reference to parties.

When questioned about their parishioners' party preferences, in most cases Republican clergymen believed that the majority were Republican, and the Democratic clergymen that the majority were Democrats. Perhaps there is congruence on party preference between the ministers and the majority of their parishioners for the sake of harmony within the parish. The effect of the social interaction between the ministers and their congregations is to encourage a similar partisan attachment.[12] This

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[12]Robert D. Putnam, "Political Attitudes and the Local Community," American Political Science Review (September, 1966), pp. 646-654. In this article Putnam demonstrates empirically the effectiveness of friendship groups on partisan conformity among the members of the group. In regard to the clergy in Los Angeles, they indicated they had considerable contact with their parishioners on political issues. Only one clergyman reported that he had not

congruence of party preference of the minister with the majority of his congregation without alienation of those who prefer the other party is possible because in American politics the intensity of partisan preference is weak.[13]

Controversial Issues

On such controversial issues as birth control, tax exemption for churches, civil disobedience to an unjust law, and the American commitment in Viet Nam, the denominational clergy expressed opinions which were favorable toward changes in the existing mores of society. Other religious associations in Los Angeles have opposed or been indifferent to any changes in the established customs associated with these issues.

On the first controversial issue, birth control, the denominational clergy were almost unanimous in their

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discussed political issues or candidates with individual members of the parish or at church social gatherings. Most of the clergymen reported that they had such discussions frequently.

[13]V. O. Key, Jr., loc. cit. Using the same data as before, there were only from 34 to 37 per cent of the sample who described themselves as either strong Republicans or Democrats.

agreement as to the applicability of birth control measures in the contemporary world. Only two clergymen did not favor the dispensing of birth control information in tax-supported health and welfare agencies. One of the two clergymen who disapproved of this type of government sponsored birth control program did so because he believed that decisions regarding procreation should not be the subject of legislation. The other clergyman was ambivalent about this type of program because he believed it had racial overtones directed primarily against the Negro. Both of these clergymen were liberals. Ironically, the conservatives were among the most unequivocal in approving this type of government program even though its ultimate effect is an invasion by government into one of the most private and personal aspects of life.

There has been a great deal of debate among churchmen on the measures to take in relation to the population explosion. That the problem is very serious is evidenced by the facts. The world's population is expanding at the rate of 1,800 persons per day, and by the year 2000 it is estimated that there will be over six billion people in-

habiting the world.[14] Because of the anticipated rapid expansion of the world's population under present circumstances and because the world's resources are limited, it is apparent that men must be careful in the future exploitation of the available resources. In this situation the concept, traditional in Christian theology, of an omnipotent deity who provides for his people under any and all circumstances is brought under considerable strain and doubt. Therefore, denominational approval of birth control measures shows that they recognize that men through this type of voluntary action do have and should have control over how the available resources will be utilized. Thus, citizens through authoritative collective action are able to protect the community from its possible self-destruction through overtaxing the available resources.

Among American religious associations, the denominations are the exception in accepting the dispensation of birth control information as a legitimate concern of government. None of the other major Christian religious

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[14]Louis B. Fleming, "Population Explosion Worries U. N. Delegates," Los Angeles Times, October 25, 1966, Part I, p. 17.

associations have publicly advocated the dispensing of birth control information of any sort and some have vigorously opposed it.

On the second controversial issue, tax exemption for churches, the denominational clergy were far from unanimous, but a majority of them did favor eliminating the exemption gradually.[15] The majority expressed the opinion, in theory at least, that for tax purposes church owned property should be assessed on the same basis as any other private property. The majority seemed to feel that if churches were voluntary associations in a secular community, they should be able to exist on the basis of their own effort without an indirect subsidy from the state in the form of a tax exemption.[16]

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[15]The Supreme Court has, in the 1966 term, declined to consider a case in which the tax exemption for churches was an issue. This has the effect of leaving the question of the constitutionality of the exemption undecided.

[16]Relations Between Church and State, a Report of the Special Committee on Relations Between Church and State in the United States of the United Presbyterian Church (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 15. "The church has no theological ground for laying any claim upon the state for special favors. The church must regard special status or favored position as a hindrance to the fulfilling of its mission."

Although many of the clergymen interviewed agreed that the principle of tax exemption for churches was wrong, they felt that if it were eliminated now it would work too much of a hardship on small churches with low budgets. This opinion was expressed most often by the clergy with congregations in predominantly working and lower class areas. A substantial minority composed largely of Negroes and conservatives had no doubt about the validity of the tax exemption and believed it should be continued. They did not think that such a tax exemption violated the principle of separation of church and state nor that this form of special privilege in any way obligated the clergy or the churches to the state. A few of the clergy were not sure at the time of the interview how they really felt on this issue.

Because the political role of the denominations is affected by the tax exemption, the arguments against it are worthy of being included in the study. One argument against the exemption is that the clergy are inhibited to some extent in their political leadership in the community as a result of the privileged position accorded to the churches by the state. The majority of the clergy in relatively financially stable churches reported that they

believed that the exemption violated the principle of separation of church and state. Thus, it is likely that this potential leadership group is prevented to some degree from fulfilling their prophetic and judgmental role by a sense of obligation to the state. Also in their opposition to an active political leadership role by the clergy, some secular groups may point out that the churches' privileged position in regard to tax exemption places them in a subordinate position to the state. Consequently, potential allies may be lost.

Another argument is that churches and religious associations involved in defending or attacking particular political issues are often protecting a vested interest in preserving the status quo. In this regard, apart from the church locations, wealthy churches and governing agencies of religious associations owned extensive property holdings in Los Angeles. Much of this property was used in commercial profit-making ventures. Most of the denominational clergy agreed that property employed in this way should be fully taxable like any other business property. Furthermore, because churches and religious associations have used the income from these enterprises in propagandizing on political issues, such enterprises should be subject

to the same conditions including taxation as any other business interest group seeking to protect its interests through influencing political decisions.

On this second controversial issue the denominations are again the only major religious associations advocating a change in the legal and traditional position of the churches. Their position on the tax exemption issue also gives additional support to the belief that the denominations are the religious associations most likely to accept and act upon a theological approach consistent with an understanding of modern urban problems.

On the third issue, civil disobedience to a law considered to be contrary to Christian ethics, a large majority of the clergy stated that they approved of civil disobedience to such a law. Some of the clergy approved in theory; however, they stated that they were not likely to take part in a demonstration or participate in acts of civil disobedience. But many of those who approved of civil disobedience indicated they would go to jail if necessary in active positive opposition to this type of law. Some had already experienced an arrest as well as some time in jail. There were also a few who might accept martyrdom if this type of sacrifice were necessary. A

small minority of four clergymen disapproved of civil disobedience, and one was probably more against it than for it although he agreed that civil disobedience may work out satisfactorily in some areas.[17] Two of the four who disapproved were conservatives, and one was a semi-retired church administrator at the time of interview.

The clergy who approved of civil disobedience indicated that much serious thought should be given to the consequences of a law which may be in question before taking positive action. They also believed that once such action was taken, the clergy could not expect to have a privileged immunity from the results of their action. While they would approve of civil disobedience to a law against Christian ethics, they would expect to suffer the penalties provided by the law for disobedience to its requirements or provisions.

Prior to the civil rights movement the denominational clergy were not among the leaders or active participants in this type of political action. Since the civil rights movement has gained momentum, however, the denomi-

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[17]This clergyman's church had suffered some damage as the result of the Watts riot in Los Angeles.

national clergy have been one of the most active groups in supporting the movement and in participating in demonstrations, sit-ins, and marches. They have joined with liberal Roman Catholics and Jews in these activities.

Although the clergy of these major religious associations have cooperated in this effort, among Protestant and related groups not affiliated with the denominations, the denominational clergy have been alone in this action. Most of these other religious associations have disapproved of this type of action in relation to the civil rights movement, and they have often voiced their disapproval of the denominational clergy for their active participation in the movement. Therefore, on this issue too, at least among the Protestant and related associations, the denominations are the most likely religious associations to adhere to a modern theological approach in regard to the solution of modern urban problems.

The fourth controversial issue dealt with an international problem, the Vietnam War. There was a less clear-cut distinction among the clergy on this issue than on any of the other three. There were slightly more who approved than disapproved of the American commitment in the Vietnamese confrontation. But there was a larger

group that was not sure of their position or approved with reservations. The clergy who approved with reservations stated that they had reservations because America should not have been involved in the war in the first place. Now that it was, however, it was necessary to support the war effort.

In regard to a question about President Johnson's handling of the Vietnamese conflict, those who disapproved of the commitment also disapproved of the President's handling of the war. Those who approved, except for one staunch conservative Republican, also approved of Mr. Johnson's program in relation to Vietnam. The clergy in the "approve but with reservations category" for the most part approved of the President's handling of the war effort.

On the issue of the war the clergy apparently held a similar view to that of much of the general public in regard to their qualified approval but underlying uncertainty about the purpose of the war.[18] But the fact

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[18]The conclusion that many of the American people were uncertain about the purpose of the Vietnam War and the reasons for American involvement in it was based on the various public opinion polls published in the Los Angeles Times over the last few years concerning the war.

that the majority of the denominational clergy were hesitant in their approval or did actually disapprove of the war distinguishes them from the more militantly anti-communist clergy in other religious associations. Apparently the theological conservativism of most of the clergy in other religious associations enforces and encourages a very strong stand in opposition to a powerful and admittedly atheistic movement like Communism.[19] On the issue of the war in Vietnam and indirectly in its effect on the alleged containment of communism within its present territorial boundaries, the denominational clergy seem to have accepted the realities of existence with secular and atheistic movements in this world to a greater extent than their more theologically conservative colleagues in other religious associations.

One final observation regarding the political

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[19]In an interview with a Four Square Gospel clergyman, he stated that he would favor any individual or group such as the John Birch Society which was actively engaged in allegedly anti-communist activities. He also commented that the members of the church felt the same way. For him communism was the anti-Christ. Furthermore, some of the denominational clergy that were interviewed reported that theologically conservative Baptist groups were the most likely ones to have members actively supporting the Birch Society as an anti-communist organization.

attitudes of the clergy on controversial issues will conclude this chapter. The denominational clergy's involvement in political issues and their concern with secular problems in the community is demonstrated by their attitude toward preaching from the pulpit about such things. All but two of the clergy reported that they had talked directly at least occasionally, and by inference, frequently, about political issues in their sermons. The two who had not were conservatives.

The more involved the clergy were with community-wide activities, the more likely they were frequently to have spoken directly or by inference in their sermons about political issues. The clergy in the less privileged white and Negro areas were not so likely to have spoken about such issues as were those from the more prosperous white and Negro areas. The younger clergy and the newcomers to the Los Angeles area were also hesitant about speaking freely from the pulpit on such issues except by inference only or occasionally directly. Apparently, the clergy in other religious associations, particularly Protestant and other related associations, do not mention political issues except very rarely, if ever, in their

sermons.[20]

The denominational clergy's greater emphasis on political issues and secular problems than is true of the clergy in other religious associations is partly attributable to the moderate communal and associational bond in the denominational membership. Because of the moderate associational and communal bond in denominational Protestantism, there is less social interaction than in other religious associations among the clergy and their congregations. Most of the other Protestant and related associations have a strong communal and associational bond.[21] These strong bonds are consistent with very extensive social interaction in these groups, and the result is a

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[20]This conclusion was based on interviews with an active Seventh Day Adventist layman, a former president and secretary of an elders' quorum in the Mormon Church, and a Four Square Gospel clergymen. All of these men reported that political issues were not talked about in church services.

[21]The same men listed in Footnote 14 stated that it was not unusual for them to spend as much as forty hours a week in church activities of one kind or another. They also indicated that they tithed or gave as high as 25 per cent of their income to the church. They said that these activities and offerings were common among members of their churches.

more unified approach to political issues, if not to political candidates, where party affiliation plays an important part.

The problem for the denominations is to develop a stronger associational and communal bond than they now have without losing their flexibility in their concern for the problems of the world. Nevertheless, the conclusion that the denominational clergy are the religious leaders most able to accept a theology appropriate to effectively working with modern urban secular problems in Los Angeles is supported by their emphasis in the ongoing life of the church on political issues.

Although the denominational clergy have indicated their awareness and understanding of some of the modern urban problems, it remains to be seen what the denominations will do to help to solve these problems. In the next chapter, some of the activities of the denominations in the secular community of Los Angeles and how effective they have been in these activities will be covered.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE DENOMINATIONS IN LOS ANGELES

The fulfillment of an active political role in the urban complex by the denominations depends upon their ability to influence the several stages of the authoritative decision-making process in the community. Through their pastoral functions, religious associations and their clergy influence decision-making on the personal level, the initial stage of the decision-making process. In a secular and religiously pluralistic society, this type of indirect influence on the community's decision-making process is still necessary, but it is not sufficient for achieving the goal of an integrated community. To assist in accomplishing this goal the denominations have accepted a political role beyond that of the indirect influence of the pastoral functions performed by the clergy in the local

parishes.[1] The denominations have acted to satisfy the requirements for an effective and influential political role in the community. Many of their activities pertinent to such a political role for the denominations in the Los Angeles area are included in this chapter.

Proposition Fourteen--1964

The turning point in the denominations' role in the political life of the Los Angeles community came in the period preceding the general election of 1964[2] with their

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[1]Sebastian de Grazia, The Political Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 133. In his study of the separation-anxiety syndrome found among the residents of a community, de Grazia found that collective action was more politically efficacious than individual action when this syndrome was prevalent. "From the political standpoint, the collective reactions to anomie are the more important. Therefore, although in a systematic discussion of possible consequences the individual solutions cannot be ignored, more attention will be paid the former category, that is, the collective attempts to reduce anomic tension."

[2]Roger Lee Ragan, "Attitudes of White Methodist Church Members in Selected Los Angeles Metropolitan Area Churches," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Theology, University of Southern California, 1963), pp. 90-91. Mr. Ragan was a human relations consultant with the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission and a former Methodist clergyman. Writing in 1963 Ragan concluded that the denominations had been ineffectual in the work of integration of the races. "Though they were slow in getting

decisions to take an active part among the other opposition forces arrayed against the acceptance of Proposition Fourteen as an amendment to the State Constitution.[3] All of the denominations affiliated with the Southern California Council of Churches took an official and public position in opposition to the passage of this Proposition.[4] With the Jewish federations, the denominations were the only major religious associations in Los Angeles that worked with groups opposing Proposition Fourteen.

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underway with such pronouncements, the major Protestant denominations are now on record in favor of integration in all aspects of national life, including housing. (Only the Congregationalists and the American Baptists had taken a stand against all segregation by the 1930's, and it was not until 1946 that the Federal Council of Churches spoke out against segregation in race relations. . . .)

"In spite of the above mentioned efforts, and others similar to them that doubtless exist, the total impact of Protestantism in the United States on the problem of racial residential segregation must be set down as negligible."

[3]Proposition Fourteen provided for the abolition of the Rumford Act and the prohibition of legislation that would inhibit the right of people to sell their property except under conditions which they determined to be appropriate.

[4]All of the clergymen interviewed were cognizant of the official position of their denomination.

A minority of the denominational clergy were not in agreement with the decisions of the Council of Churches and the denominational governing bodies to oppose the Proposition.[5] The minority were composed primarily of the conservative clergy within the denominations. The minority clergy expressed their disagreement through expressing varying degrees of approval for the Proposition. Some clergymen were openly and actively in favor of the passage of the Proposition.[6] Others declined to take any stand at all, preferring to ignore the issue as a political controversy with no moral implications for the churches.

In some cases the lay governing boards of individual churches were a factor in determining a church's position on this issue. In some parishes the governing board's decision as to the church's official position was

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[5]Church government in the denominations ranged from that of the considerable executive authority exercised by the Bishop and his Council in the Episcopal Church to the congregational democracy of the United Church of Christ, with the republican form of legislative government in the United Presbyterian Church somewhere in the middle.

[6]Most of these clergymen apparently believed that individual freedom was being needlessly curtailed by the government as a result of this kind of legislation.

in conflict with the stand of the denominations and the clergy. In other parishes active opposition among some of the members of the governing boards prevented or inhibited the clergy from taking a public stand on the issue.[7]

The clergy who opposed the Proposition also varied in the manner in which they carried out their role.[8] A few, such as Dr. Ganse Little of Pasadena's First Presbyterian Church and Mr. Ray Riebes of St. Michaels and All Angels Episcopal Church in Sherman Oaks, were vigorously outspoken against the Proposition and took an active leadership role among the opposition forces. Among the active administrative officials, Dr. Julian Keiser, urban work director for the Southern California Conference of

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[7]A Methodist clergyman reported that an unusually large number of Methodist clergy, more than half of those in the conference, were transferred in the period following the 1964 general election. It was also reported that in one denominational church, members of the John Birch Society attempted unsuccessfully to take over the governing board in order to assure official church approval for the Proposition.

[8]Most of the respondents reported that they were satisfied with their efforts on behalf of the opposition. Some felt that a more educational and persuasive technique should have been used. Many reported that some members of the church left as a result of the pastor's opposition activities.

the United Church of Christ, was coordinator for denominational opposition activities. Other clergymen worked mostly through study groups and open meetings within their own congregations and through their sermons. Some were willing to have their names placed on literature that was distributed in the area by the opposition forces, but they were not willing to take a very strong stand within their own congregations against the Proposition. Most of the top administrative officials of the denominations were strongly in favor of the opposition, and they publicly denounced the purpose of the Proposition as being contrary to Christian ethics.

The denominations' and the clergy's stand in opposition to the Proposition resulted in a serious split among the laity. Individual church members were more evenly divided in their support for or against the Proposition than were the clergy. Many clergymen with churches that were in predominantly white middle class areas perceived that their congregations were approximately evenly divided in their attitudes concerning the Proposition.[9]

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[9]Ragan, op. cit., p. 114. In a related type of problem, there was also an even distribution of white

Some of the clergy with white congregations indicated that even if a majority of their parishioners disapproved of the purpose of the Proposition, it frequently was only a small majority. Those clergy who represented churches in the ghetto areas and churches that were meaningfully integrated in other areas of the County had little difficulty in securing the active support and verbal approval of their congregations for the denominations' and the churches' activities in opposition to the Proposition. However, it is significant for the political role of the denominations that some parishioners were so disgruntled over the churches' position that they withdrew their

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Protestants' attitudes. In regard to their attitudes toward living on the same block with Negroes, Ragan's findings show about an even split, and this agrees with the findings in other areas. "In the two studies of white church members known to the writer, the respondents appear to have attitudes similar to those found in the present study. Lensky, in his 1958 Detroit study, reports 53 per cent of the white Protestants indicated they would be disturbed or unhappy if a Negro family with the same education or income moved into their block. This compares with the 51.9 per cent in the present study who register disapproval of a similar Negro family moving into their neighborhood. Friedrichs, in his 1959 study of a suburban New Jersey residential community, found 45 per cent of the white church members did not register an objection to a Negro family moving into their neighborhood. This compares with 48.2 per cent of those respondents in the present study who do not register actual disapproval."

membership or support.[10] But as religious associations, the denominations' administrative leaders, the clergy, and many laymen seem to have been determined to continue political activities of this type which exert a direct influence on the decision-making process in the community despite the opposition of some of the clergy and laity.

In Los Angeles, each denomination's action in regard to Proposition Fourteen was its first major direct, organized, and ecumenical activity on a political issue since the denominations took an active leadership role in the prohibition movement. However, important variations between these two types of political as well as moral

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[10] Ibid., p. 174. Ragan found that members who were highly involved in church activities were less prejudiced than the marginal members. In a study of a Los Angeles suburb, Rosenblum also found an inverse relationship between religiosity and prejudice. Religiosity in his study was measured by church attendance and attitudes toward the institution of the church. However, it is important to note that the relationship between religiosity and prejudice was reversed among Roman Catholic and Lutheran groups. See Abraham L. Rosenblum, "Social Class Membership and Ethnic Prejudice in Cedar City" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Southern California, 1959), pp. 105-123. In the study, some clergymen reported that as a result of the clergy's and the denominations' stand on the Proposition a few active lay leaders did quit their churches.

movements reflect the denominations' new existential theology in their approach to political issues.

A significant difference between the prohibition movement and the civil rights movement, of which the opposition to Proposition Fourteen was a part, is the general nature of each movement. Prohibition was a negative goal of making abstention from alcoholic beverages a legal requirement. Religious leaders apparently considered this type of abstention important as a means to the salvation of the individual's soul. The civil rights movement is a positive program which seeks to achieve an integrated and humane community in which each person may seek his salvation through his own unique service to the community.

Another important difference between the two movements is an understanding on the part of religious leaders of the complexity of the solutions to the problems involved in the civil rights movement compared to the simplicity of the expected solution of abstention in the prohibition movement. Working within the civil rights movement entails dealing with secular problems in the urban community, whereas working within the prohibition movement required only a belief in a system of legalized

ethics.

Another variation between the two movements lies in the unity among the religious associations in supporting each movement. There was consensus among religious leaders on the evils for man and society in the consumption of alcoholic beverages and on the importance of doing something to control it.[11] In the Los Angeles area especially, the denominations among the Christian religious associations are the only ones taking an active part in making the civil rights movement a success. Consequently, because of opposition within their own ranks as well as lack of cooperation, if not opposition, from other religious associations, their leadership role on political issues related to the civil rights movement is more difficult than it was in the prohibition movement.

The clergy themselves are uncertain as to how they are able to fulfill a leadership role and take an active

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[11]Anson Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, Church and State in the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 313. Only two Christian associations were not in favor of the prohibition amendment. "On the whole it is clear that most of the Christian churches, except the Episcopalian and the Roman Catholic, favored the prohibition amendment and its enforcement."

part in the civil rights movement.[12] Most of the clergy seemed to be willing to have the denominations continue to accept a leadership and judgmental role in seeking solutions to the secular problems of the community. The denominations' and the clergy's involvement in the opposition to the acceptance of Proposition Fourteen served to give them an increased awareness and understanding of how the denominations can be an effective force for attaining as well as serving an integrated community. Their involvement in this type of political issue has also served to enhance the denominations' position as a political influence in the community. What the denominations have achieved in the quest for an integrated and whole community in the Los Angeles area since Proposition Fourteen will be covered in the last part of the chapter.

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[12]Because of the complexity of the problems, the ingrained parochial position of the churches, and a well-established liberal and conservative theology both emphasizing the importance of individualism in politics and religion, many of the clergy interviewed manifested considerable uncertainty as to how they and the denominations as an organized interest group could assist in the process of working with urban secular problems.

Denominational Activities--1965-1966

The denominations' activities since 1964 related to the political arena fall into two categories, ecumenical[13] and individual denominational and church programs. Each type of program will be covered in this section of the chapter.

The ecumenical program is included largely in the activities of the following organizations: The Commission on the Church and Race of the Southern California Council of Churches; The Migrant Ministry and the Office for State Affairs of the California Council of Churches; The Inter-Religious Committee of the Los Angeles Region Goals Project, and the Center of Metro Mission Inservice Training.[14]

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[13]Roman Catholic, Jewish, and other Protestant and related religious associations are participants in some of these ecumenical activities. Nevertheless, the denominations have provided the largest portion of the support and staff for these activities.

[14]The first two organizations have their headquarters in the offices of the Southern California Council of Churches in Los Angeles, and the other two have their headquarters in the University Methodist Church near the University of Southern California.

With the exception of the Migrant Ministry,[15] these organizations have been established since the Watts riot in Los Angeles in August, 1965. Other ecumenical activities relating to the political arena have taken place on an ad hoc basis.

The programs of the individual denominations and churches in relation to urban problems included a wide range of activities. Individual denominational churches were active participants in such organizations as the Valley Interfaith Commission, which worked closely with the Valley Fair Housing Council in placing and welcoming Negro families in the San Fernando Valley.[16] Other religious organizations of this type were active throughout the area. Some churches, partially supported by denominational funds, such as the East Los Angeles Parish of the Episcopal Church, the Pacoima Congregational Church of the

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[15]The Migrant Ministry was transferred in 1964 from the National Council of Churches with its headquarters in New York City to the California Council of Churches.

[16]At the time of the interview with Mrs. Florence Adler at the Valley Fair Housing Council, 112 Negro families had been assisted in finding homes in various locations throughout the San Fernando Valley.

United Church of Christ, and the Temple Methodist Church located in the central section of Los Angeles, were examples of integrated churches in the less privileged areas of the County actively engaged in assisting minority groups become integrated into the community. One of the important functions of such churches was to help people to think of themselves as a part of the larger community. The clergy also gave the people guidance in exercising influence on the decision-making process. Other churches, such as the Woodland Hills Methodist Church and the First Presbyterian Church in Pasadena, were seeking to establish lines of communication and meaningful interaction between the white middle class suburban parishes and the Negro ghetto area parishes. The clergy and the laity sought to establish contact with Negro religious leaders and their congregations and to work with them in whatever way they could.

Churches within the Negro ghetto areas, such as the Grant African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Bel-Vue Community Presbyterian Church, were examples of denominational churches that had developed active self-help programs for the poor. Among other things these programs were aimed at helping individuals attain appro-

priate skills related to current employment opportunities. This type of program was designed to enhance the individual's self-respect as a valued contributor to the general good of the community. Specifically, the Grant A. M. E. Church had conducted voting schools, a placement clinic and employment office, and an active teen training program. In addition to their activities in these programs, the pastors of the two churches were also active in preventing violence during the riots in Watts.[17] They were both personally commended by Governor Brown for their efforts toward that end.

Like the programs of the three other churches previously described in this section, the programs of these two churches were designed to assist all of the people in the neighborhood, regardless of their religious affiliation, to achieve a sense of purpose for their present existence in the community. These programs were based on the idea inherent in the Protestant work ethic of the

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[17]The pastor's office of the Grant A. M. E. Church was damaged by a fire bomb thrown through the window during the riots. The pastor attributed this act of vandalism to his efforts to prevent the violence of the rioters.

importance of constructive, meaningful involvement for the individual, but they emphasized this type of involvement as a means of attaining self-respect and not as a divinely ordained mechanism for the material evolution of man. Significantly, in no way were the activities of all of these churches a continuation of the social club concept prevalent in many middle class denominational churches.

In the two-year period following the disturbances in the Negro areas of Los Angeles, the involvement of each of the denominations in urban problems had increased considerably. This involvement of the denominations was in addition to the ecumenical activities in which they also participated.

The major denominations included on their administrative staffs clergymen who were designated as coordinators for urban affairs. These men were given responsibility and authority to act promptly on urban problems by the governing bodies of the denominations.[18] The clergy-

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[18]Part of their task was to secure denominational support for an active and effective program in regard to urban problems.

men filling these leadership roles had much experience in dealing with inner city problems, and they were familiar with the attitudes and behavior of the people in these areas. Furthermore, the interaction and coordination of denominational activities were enhanced by the fact that these men were always members of the various boards and commissions which set the policies for and gave guidance to the ecumenical denominational organizations dealing with the various urban programs.

Each of the major denominations also supported with money and staff assistance various projects concerned with urban problems in the inner city and poverty areas. The Westminster Neighborhood Association, Incorporated in Watts received financial and staff assistance from the Los Angeles Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church; the Willowbrook Job Corporation was aided financially by The Methodist Church; and Operation Bootstrap was aided financially and with staff assistance by the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles. Projects of this sort have served to increase the denominations' influence and communication with the minority groups and the poor. Apparently, the denominations as organizations as well as some pastors are no longer solely concerned with the salvation of the souls

of men.

Ecumenical Organizational Activities

Except on election issues such as Proposition Fourteen in 1964 and Proposition Sixteen in 1966[19] and issues pertaining to local problems such as housing and parks, the ecumenical organizational activities of the denominations were more directly related to the political arena than were the activities of individual churches and denominations. Some of these ecumenical activities are briefly discussed in the following pages.

The Southern California Council of Churches was the central organization for the area. Through their membership in this organization, the denominations sought ways to become actively engaged in urban problems and particularly those problems related to minority groups and the poor. Thus the Commission on the Church and Race was created as a division of the Council of Churches. The

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[19]Proposition Sixteen in 1966 was a proposed amendment to the State Constitution which would have provided for shifting control over the question of what is obscene from the state government to local governmental units.

Executive Director of the Commission, Mr. John Pratt, used his office to bring the denominations' influence to bear on political and administrative leaders in the area's several governments. He sought to influence the decision-making process on both political and administrative levels, such as the County Board of Supervisors, the Police Commission of Los Angeles City, and the boards and directors responsible for administering the federal poverty programs in the area. Mr. Pratt used different techniques for exerting the Commission's influence on the decisions of these political and administrative leaders. He made numerous telephone calls, wrote many letters, sent telegrams, attended public meetings, assembled groups to represent the churches at legal proceedings, and participated along with other religious leaders in protest marches.[20] The major drawback to his effectiveness in accomplishing the

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[20]In regard to the last two activities, Mr. Pratt recently arranged to have 35 to 40 clergymen including top administrative leaders present at the inquest into the killing of a Negro citizen, Mr. Deadwyler, by a police officer. Also, Mr. Pratt and the Executive Director of the Los Angeles Council of Churches represented the Protestant Churches of Southern California on the final day of the Meredith Mississippi March in Jackson.

goals of the Commission was the limitation of the staff to one man.

In addition to those activities which sought to influence the decision-making process, Mr. Pratt and the Commission sought to establish better lines of communication and interaction between suburban white churches and the inner city areas than had previously existed. In accomplishing this goal, the Commission and the California Center for Community Development together designed and sponsored a new training program. The plan was to train young potential leaders within the inner city areas to understand the important social issues of their community and to establish a responsible relationship with the larger community. A Social Action Training Center was set up in the Negro area for this purpose. Individual churches sponsoring trainees learned firsthand about conditions in the inner city, and what they could do to help improve the situation. The trainees learned that people in the white community were concerned and interested in them and their lot in society. It was of considerable importance that the clergy and laity of suburban white churches were able to acquire an insight into the social and political attitudes of young people not imbued with

white middle class values.

Moreover, under Mr. Pratt's leadership, the Commission on the Church and Race laid the foundation for the denominations' social use of economic power. This was done through the Commission's adaptation to the Los Angeles area of a program, Project Equality, already in use in other major urban centers in the United States.[21] Mr. Pratt has described the Project as an "inter-faith program providing the methods, tools, techniques and administrative procedures to Churches so they may lend their moral suasion and economic power to achievement of equal opportunity for all citizens."[22]

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[21]"Project Equality of Greater Los Angeles," Summary Paper prepared by John M. Pratt, Executive Director, Commission on the Church and Race (Council of Churches in Southern California, October 12, 1966), Introduction, (mimeographed). As a part of his justification for the utilization of this type of program in Los Angeles, Mr. Pratt pointed out that many of the governments in the country through legislation and executive action have been committed for several years to a policy of fair employment practices in the business aspects of their activities. Accordingly, he urged that the religious community, the second largest purchaser of goods and services in the United States, could hardly be expected to act in a less moral manner than the political community in the vital area of job discrimination.

[22]Ibid.

According to the plan, Project Equality had four phases which were to be implemented by the churches in their business dealings. In the first phase, the churches survey their own hiring practices to determine if, unknowingly, discrimination of any sort has existed. In the second phase, the churches make a regular practice of purchasing goods and services from firms listed in a booklet supplied to them by the staff of the Project. The firms listed are the ones that have implemented the principles of Project Equality in regard to fair employment practices.[23] In the third phase, in their building programs, the churches contract with construction firms that have complied with these principles; and in the fourth phase, insurance, banking, and real estate firms are also included under the provisions of the Project.[24]

In addition to helping minority groups in their efforts to overcome discriminatory employment practices, a

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[23]A mutual exchange of cooperating firms will be made with Project Equality staff in other urban centers in order to increase the nationwide effectiveness of the program.

[24]"Project Equality of Greater Los Angeles," op. cit., pp. 1-2.

significant aspect of this program was that it further emphasized and made manifest the need for effective cooperation among the religious associations. Such cooperation is essential for the accomplishment of the goal of an integrated community. Recently in Detroit, effective cooperation among the religious associations demonstrated what could be accomplished. The Methodists and Presbyterians had official requirements that every church contract include a clause of non-discrimination. Both denominations by themselves found the task too large to handle meaningfully. However, denominational cooperation through Project Equality provided the means and the staff necessary to implement effectively the good policy statement of the denominations.[25]

At the time of the study, the denominations in Los Angeles and the participating members in the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles were the only major religious associations engaged in carrying out this type of socioeconomic activity. But in order for this type of activity to be fully effective, the cooperation

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[25]James Bristah, "The Social Use of Economic Power," Concern (May 15, 1966), p. 5.

and participation of all of the religious associations in Los Angeles was needed. Nevertheless, denominational leadership in this program was evidence of the denominational clergy's awareness of the importance of economic factors as a significant cause of the dissatisfaction and alienation from the community found among minority groups and the poor. They were also aware of how economic factors affect the achievement of an integrated community.

Another ecumenical organizational activity was the Migrant Ministry of the California Council of Churches. Although the major activities of the Migrant Ministry were outside Los Angeles County, these activities were supported in several ways by churches and denominations within the County. But in supporting the Migrant Ministry's activities outside the County, the denominations and their congregations developed a greater awareness and understanding of the diverse roles the Christian Church is called upon to play in the political and economic arenas of modern society.

One of the recent significant political and socio-economic activities of the Migrant Ministry was the leader-

ship role it played in the Delano grape strike.[26] Under the direction of the Reverend Mr. Wayne C. Hartmire, the Migrant Ministry helped in waging a successful battle to have the migrant farm workers in the Delano area represented by a union of their choosing. It was Mr. Hartmire's policy to cooperate with Mr. Cesar Chavez and the National Farm Workers Association for that purpose in preference to another union, the Teamsters. In the 1966 fall issue of The California Harvester, a seasonal publication of the Migrant Ministry, in justification for his support of Chavez and the NFWA, Mr. Hartmire wrote:

> What about the Teamsters? Should we support one labor organization at the expense of another? In some situations the answer would be no. But from the beginning the churches have been in this Delano fight on behalf of dignity for farm workers and their kids. Cesar Chavez has demonstrated that he takes the workers seriously as men of worth. He built the NFWA from the ground up so that workers would pay for and run their own organization. . . .
>
> On the other hand the Teamsters have shown contempt for the workers. With the help of the Company they have tried to intimidate and browbeat workers into their union. . . . Workers have not participated in or even known about negotiations the Teamsters have had with the growers.[27]

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[26]The Migrant Ministry staff was also active in the Borrego Springs area of San Diego County.

[27]Wayne C. Hartmire, "From the Director's Desk,"

Apparently, Mr. Hartmire and the Migrant Ministry had a deep commitment to Mr. Chavez and the NFWA, and the commitment was based on a thorough analysis of the farm workers' position.

The actions of the Migrant Ministry were not limited to economic, verbal, and moral support for the farm workers. Mr. Hartmire successfully sought the intervention of political leaders in order to give official recognition to the cause of the workers. Along with Mr. Chavez and others, he met with Governor Brown in an effort to secure an impartial investigation into the strike situation and to settle the matter in a lawful manner.[28] Letters and telegrams were dispatched to Senators Harrison Williams of New Jersey and Robert Kennedy of New York, both Democrats, urging the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor to hold public hearings in California on the farm workers' problems. In addition to their efforts in seeking governmental investigations and hearings, Mr. Hartmire and

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The California Harvester (Los Angeles: California Migrant Ministry), Fall, 1966, p. 2.

[28]Governor Brown appointed Dr. Ronald Haughton of Wayne University to be the State's investigator.

other clergymen have been arrested on more than one occasion during the strike.[29] Although their actions were violations of the law, they considered these actions to be within the realm of their obligations to the community according to Christian ethics. These incidents involving the arrest of clergymen and others furthered the cause of the farm workers and their strike by giving more publicity to the situation.

The Migrant Ministry did not receive unanimous support from the denominational churches in the strike area or in Los Angeles. As a matter of fact there was considerable opposition to Mr. Hartmire's and the Migrant Ministry's activities from the denominational status churches in the Delano area. Many growers were members of these churches, and the churches' financial position depended on their contributions.[30] As a result of the oppo-

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[29]One of the indictments was thrown out by the District Attorney's office in Kern County. However, in another case in Borrego Springs, charges against Father Victor Salandini, Cesar Chavez, and Mr. Hartmire resulted in a conviction for trespassing. The case was on appeal to a higher court at the time of the study.

[30]There was opposition to direct intervention in the strike from religious associations in Los Angeles. For example, in a close vote, the Los Angeles Presbytery of the

sition from these churches, there were several requests for Mr. Hartmire's resignation as Executive Director. But the ecclesiastical authorities to whom these requests were addressed, and who participated in the meetings of the California Council of Churches dealing with the strike situation, continued their support of Mr. Hartmire and his program for the farm workers and the NFWA.

Nevertheless, the denominational leaders were also concerned about the spiritual and socioeconomic welfare of the growers as well as the farm workers.[31] Consequently, to assist in seeking long range solutions to agricultural problems in California, the Special Committee on Justice for the Agricultural Community was created by the California Church Council.[32] The Committee membership included growers, labor leaders, and churchmen. The presence of the clergy in this type of cooperative effort between labor

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United Presbyterian Church decided not to support the farm workers or Mr. Chavez.

[31]Denominational leaders were especially concerned about the welfare of the small independent farmers who had difficulty in competing with the large commercial producers such as the Di Giorgio and Schenley Corporations.

[32]The Chairman of the Special Committee was Mr. Douglas Chalmers of Los Angeles.

and management makes possible for those involved a better understanding of how the brotherhood of man based on Judeo-Christian ethic can be effectuated in the economic arena in modern society.

The two ecumenically based organizations just discussed, the Migrant Ministry and the Commission on the Church and Race, were actively engaged in directly influencing political and administrative decisions to a much greater extent than were other ecumenical organizations. It appears that they were moderately successful in exerting the denominations' influence in the political and economic arenas. Two reasons were important for their accomplishments in these arenas. The first reason is that at the time of study these organizations had been supported in their activities by the denominational leaders acting together as a unit. The second reason is that the organizations were each headed by aggressive and articulate men. These men were aware of and understood the political realities in the area, and they appreciated the need for a strong united denominational stand which could be articulated to community leaders by a single spokesman.

The extent to which the organizations and their

executive directors will be able to continue their active political roles depends upon several factors. First, their active and successful political role depends on the ability of the ecclesiastical leaders to forego their own denominational advantage as they interpret it and to continue to support and present a united front through their official spokesmen, Mr. Hartmire and Mr. Pratt or their successors.[33] Second, the opposition by conservative clergy and laity within the denominations to the continuation of such organizational activities could result in the available funds for these activities being curtailed. Third, a leveling off or declining membership in the "mainline" churches could result in the denominational leaders' curtailing or even eliminating these organizations. In other words, the denominational leaders might come to the conclusion that these types of activities are too detrimental to the numerical growth of the denominations,

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[33]For example, denominational leaders were likely to be aware that in the normally Democratic counties of the San Joaquin Valley, the repudiation of Governor Brown by a substantial margin in each of these counties was partly due to the success of the strike by the NFWA. Governor Brown had evidenced a cooperative attitude toward the cause of the farm workers and their strike.

especially in comparison with other religious associations.

A third denominational ecumenical organizational activity was being organized at the time the study was completed. This was the Office for State Affairs. The California Church Council had made provision in its meetings for a lobbyist to represent the interests of the denominations and their allies in the various church councils during the 1967 session of the California legislature. The Reverend Mr. Glen Holman of Sacramento will represent the State Council and its constituency in that capacity. Apparently his task will be to represent denominational Protestantism as a unit rather than to represent the separate denominations, which is the situation in regard to the national legislature where each of the denominations has its representative. As a result of the establishment of this office, denominational Protestantism in California will be able to exert influence directly on the legislative process as it develops in the state government. If it is coordinated with the positive approach of the denominations to the civil rights movement, this type of activity should have a positive effect on legislation.

A different kind of ecumenical organizational

activity than the three activities already covered was the Inter-Religious Committee of the Los Angeles Region Goals Project. This activity was different from the others in that the Committee included representatives from most of the other religious associations in Los Angeles that were not affiliated with the denominations in the Council of Churches.[34] Another difference was that the Committee's work dealt with long range problems of urban life. It was not oriented primarily toward current civil rights issues although they were a part of the total picture.

A very significant difference from the other activities was that this one was instigated by and included the participation of governmental authorities in its development and planning. Representatives of government had sought the religious leaders' assistance in making long-range plans for the future growth and develop-

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[34]Representatives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Los Angeles, Jewish associations, The National Association of Evangelicals and other religious associations were included among the participants in the Inter-Religious Committee.

ment of the Los Angeles region.[35] In this sense it was an innovation in cooperative arrangements between church and government to solve modern urban problems. This type of arrangement between government and religious associations seems to embody the kind of cooperative neutralism toward each other called for by recent decisions of the Supreme Court.

Moreover, this type of activity established a new kind of leadership in the Los Angeles community for the religious leaders. In working with the area's urban problems, this activity brought representatives of the religious associations into direct contact in a secular as well as a religious capacity with concerned people in other professional fields.[36] According to respondents who were members of the Committee, the interaction among these

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[35]The invitation to participate in the Goals Project was extended on behalf of the city government by the Los Angeles City Planner, Mr. Calvin Hamilton. Mr. Hamilton is an active member of Immanuel Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles.

[36]Altogether there were four committees involved in the Goals Project: The Technological Goals Committee, The Environmental Goals Committee, The Economic Goals Committee, and the Social and Human Goals Committee. The Inter-Religious Committee was a part of the latter group.

groups broadened the clergymen's understanding of the complex nature of the problems.

Through the sponsorship of study groups in individual churches, the members of the Inter-Religious Committee were planning to involve the laity in the secular work of the Project in regard to its long-range plans for the area. The involvement of the laity in the Project was designed to enable the Planning Department officials and the religious leaders to have the benefit of the ideas, desires, and support of the people at the neighborhood level for the goals of the program. An additional advantage to the study groups approach is that in this way the local congregations will become aware of the problems of the whole metropolitan area and of the need for planning on a metropolitan area level rather than on the local community level.

As previously stated, when this study was made, the Goals Project was in the first stage of its development. Its ultimate success will depend on such factors as the continued participation of all of the religious associations and other groups;[37] the sincerity and ability

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[37]The Methodist Church recently withdrew its sup-

of government officials to make the master plan work; and the creation of a regional organization with sufficient authority to implement the plan in Los Angeles and adjacent Counties.

In another, but related, type of ecumenical organizational activity, four of the denominations joined together to establish and support a Center of Metro Mission Inservice Training (COMMIT).[38] This ecumenical activity had been in operation only for approximately two months at the time of this study, and its program was not explicitly defined.

A brief delineation of some of the proposed programs of the officials of COMMIT will serve to indicate its function in the community. One of the programs was designed to assist in improving lines of communication between middle class congregations and congregations composed of people in the less privileged segments of the

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port, and it was reported by some clergymen that the continued participation of the Roman Catholic Church was doubtful.

[38]The four denominations were: The Methodist Church, The United Presbyterian Church, The United Church of Christ, and The Episcopal Church.

population. This improvement in communication would be accomplished by bringing people from each type of congregation together to determine what can be done to solve problems which prevent Los Angeles from becoming an integrated community. This type of confrontation would be an example of mutual interaction without the paternalistic attitude that frequently accompanies white middle class dealings with the less fortunate minority groups. The Executive Director of COMMIT, the Reverend Mr. Robert Ryland,[39] believed that this type of cooperative confrontation between people from different socioeconomic backgrounds would help to increase the effective interaction between the various segments of the population.

Another proposed activity of COMMIT was designed to provide an orientation program dealing with specific problems of the Los Angeles metropolitan culture. This program would give new clergymen and volunteer workers an understanding of the problems unique to Los Angeles.

A third proposed activity would involve the staff

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[39]Mr. Ryland was formerly the pastor of the West Adams Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles. Most of his years in the ministry had been spent in inner city parishes in the less privileged areas.

of COMMIT with experimental ministries and task forces. The detached clergy assigned to the Las Vegas strip and the Night Ministry in San Francisco are examples of this type of approach.

A fourth proposed activity dealt with the recruitment, placement, and coordination of committed young people in the summer youth inservice training program. This program involved two separate groups of young people: summer vocational interns who would be available for work during most of the summer and senior high and college students who would meet in two-week conferences to learn about urban problems in Los Angeles. This type of activity is very important because it can provide a basis for utilizing leisure time in a constructive manner and with a sacred orientation. Thus, the program was designed to bring young people into active participation in one of the roles of the Church, namely, service to the whole community.

Through these various ecumenical organizational activities the religious leaders have become involved in an ambitious program to make the denominations a force in integrating the Los Angeles area into a meaningful community for all the people. In some of the activities, the

denominations have exerted their influence directly on the authoritative decision-making process; and in others they have sought to bring committed Christians into an organized program of service to the community. Because of its educational nature, the latter effort can help to further the acceptance of an existential theological system pertinent to modern urban problems. Such an organized program of servanthood can also have long range effects among the denominations and the people with which they are involved in eliminating the alienation and apathy of many individuals toward the political arena.[40] No one who is aware of and concerned about the difficulties inherent in

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[40]de Grazia, op. cit., pp. x-xi. Professor de Grazia has emphasized the importance of a fundamental universal belief system for the establishment of community in contradistinction to society which he believes is the prevailing situation in western civilization. "Today the great nations of the West neither bask in the sunlight of community nor shiver in the darkness of anarchy. They wander somewhere in the dusk of a 'society.' The fabric of their political and religious beliefs is pierced and rent by the intrusion of ideologies which are not fundamental, which are not universal, which need not stay to wreak confusion and play hob with men's souls. . . . Instead, men stand today in this twilight zone of a 'society,' uneasy, distressed, feeling joined to their fellows only in war or crisis; and behind the inner door of their mind they welcome war or crisis for the feeling of community it gives them. They stand as 'individuals,' which is all they can ever be in a society."

achieving an integrated human community can be negative toward or aloof from the political issues and the political and administrative leaders responsible for authoritative decisions.

In addition to these institutional activities, the denominations, through their administrative clergy concerned with urban affairs, worked closely together on urban problems arising on an ad hoc basis in the community.[41] The recent difficult situation regarding the enforcement of the curfew law in the Sunset Strip section of the Los Angeles area among the police, the businessmen, the political and administrative leaders, and the youth was an example of this type of problem. As evidence of their concern for this type of secular problem in the community, denominational clergy were present on the Sunset Strip during the disturbances. They were there to help restrain both the police and the young people in their sometimes violent confrontation. The clergy also were there to seek to understand what the underlying attitudes

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[41]Through their mutual membership on numerous committees and boards, it appears that these administrative religious leaders had developed a common position toward urban problems.

and motivations were that created such a confrontation.

As a result of their observations and presence in the thick of the disturbances, the urban coordinators on the denominational staffs and the clergy with parishes in the area presented a proposal to the political and administrative officials. The proposal suggested a truce on weekend enforcement of the curfew law affecting teen-agers during the approaching Christmas vacation period. The religious leaders believed that such a truce would prevent further violence in the area at a time when it was most likely to occur.

The problems of the denominations in exercising influence on a fragmented power structure were exemplified by the difficult situation that developed in the Hollywood area of Los Angeles. The political jurisdiction over the section in which the confrontation occurred is divided between the county and city political leaders, and the administrative jurisdiction is divided between the County Sheriff's office and the Los Angeles City Police Department. The clergymen had to contact and secure the cooperation of four or five autonomous officials in charge of each jurisdiction, any one of which was able to refuse to

cooperate in the plan for a truce.[42] Under such circumstances it is easier to ignore one's responsibility than if power were centered in one political office. The city officials and Supervisor Ernest Debs were sympathetic to the proposal, but the County Sheriff, Peter Pitchess, rejected the idea.

Nevertheless, regardless of their failure to have the proposal accepted and put into operation, the denominations' action seems to have had some influence on the authoritative decision-making process. At the least, the violent aspects of the confrontation were diminished. But more importantly, it showed the young people involved in the confrontation as well as the community as a whole that the denominations were deeply concerned about this type of problem and about the appropriate adjustments necessary on both sides in order to have a peaceful and integrated community.

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[42]The officials involved were: Councilman Paul Lamport and Mayor Samuel Yorty of Los Angeles City; Thad Brown, Acting Police Chief of the Los Angeles City Police Department; Supervisor Ernest Debs of the County Board of Supervisors; and Sheriff Peter Pitchess of the County Sheriff's Office.

Individual Church Activities

The activities of a few of the denominational churches in Los Angeles will be covered in this section of the chapter. These activities are related to the political life of the community. Three clergymen, highly recommended for their leadership role in local community affairs by religious administrative officials and community leaders, were interviewed in relation to their programs.[43] All three clergymen served parishes located in or near Negro and Mexican-American areas. Their programs were designed by the ministers and the denominational staff to give the churches a greater part than they previously had in helping the residents develop an increasing feeling of identification with the whole community. Part of their program was to give the residents a means by which to actively participate in community affairs.

In helping the residents to achieve a feeling of community pride and identification, the churches' activi-

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[43]The three clergymen were Mr. James Cooper of Temple Methodist Church, Mr. Paul Kittlaus of Pacoima Congregational Church, and Mr. John Luce of the East Los Angeles Episcopal Parish.

ties were many and varied. They engaged in tutorial programs of their own separate from Head Start classes which were organized under governmental auspices. The tutorial programs of the churches were designed to give people of all age levels an opportunity to improve their knowledge and their language skills. In other words, it was being carried on to help the residents become better citizens by being able to understand and articulate their interests in relation to the interests of the whole community.

The churches were active in local self-help community organizations such as the Greater Pico-Union Neighborhood Council, the Committee for Recreation in Pacoima, and the Valley Fair Housing Council. In regard to their effect on the political arena, these local self-help community organizations sought to influence the authoritative decision-making process in the following ways: obtaining signatures on petitions to be sent to political and administrative authorities; arranging for public meetings to which political and administrative leaders were invited in order to inform them about the peoples' wishes and needs and also to increase the residents' own information about relevant issues; and securing groups of people to attend public hearings held by government officials. The Greater

Pico-Union Neighborhood Council of which Mr. Cooper is a leading member was very active in these kinds of activities.[44] It had organized an opposition program to the Los Angeles City Council's proposal to take away free city hospitals and ambulance service. In organizing this opposition, the Neighborhood Council collected 10,000 signatures on a petition presented to the City Council, distributed 13,000 flyers opposing the City Council's proposal and sent a delegation to the first public hearing held by the City Council on the matter. In another activity, the Neighborhood Council had some success recently in influencing administrative officials in order to secure the help of city housing authorities to get absentee landlords to improve their property in the area.

In a different section of the city, the Pacoima Congregational Church was highly involved in local community affairs too. The Committee for Recreation in Pacoima, with the significant assistance and leadership of Mr. Kitt-

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[44]The Neighborhood Council held its meetings every Thursday evening in Temple Methodist Church.

laus,[45] was organized to try to prevent the County Board of Supervisors from disposing of Roger Jessup Park located in Pacoima. Apparently the central city was anxious to acquire the land as a possible site for a new city airport. The Committee for Recreation employed the same techniques as the Greater Pico-Union Neighborhood did in order to prevent the park from being lost to Pacoima.

Some of the members of this church were engaged also in a completely different type of political activity. With the support of Mr. Kittlaus, some of his parishioners organized an anti-Vietnam war program. They wanted to have a dialogue with members of other churches in order to create a united front in opposition to American participation in the war. Incidentally as a result of the refusal of some churches to join in the dialogue, part of their activities included picketing during their Sunday morning

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[45]Mr. Kittlaus also actively assisted Mr. John Buchanan, a member of the church, in seeking the Democratic nomination for Assemblyman from that district. One of their main campaign issues concerned the distribution of students in the schools in the Pacoima area. Most of the white students went to an overcrowded school which the Board of Education at that time continued to classify as an open school in order to avoid forcing white students to attend the integrated school in the area. In this instance the integrated school was not being used to its optimum capacity.

services the churches that had declined.

These two churches were also performing activities in which middle class suburban congregations participated. The Woodland Hills United Church of Christ was in the process of constructing additional rooms for the Pacoima Church in order to accommodate the Head Start classes sponsored by the latter church. The La Crescenta, Garden Grove, Pacific Palisades, and Fullerton (Orange County) Methodist Churches were involved in the N-One Program[46] of the Temple Methodist Church. In the N-One Program, individual members of the first four white middle class churches assisted the staff at Temple Methodist in their tutorial, child care, adult education, and Teen Canteen activities. These people from the other churches took part in the Sunday worship services at Temple Methodist.[47]

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[46]Neighborhood-One Year Program.

[47]All of these clergymen were experimenting with new kinds of worship services which they believed would be more meaningful to their constituents than the traditional denominational service. In this regard, the East Los Angeles Parish maintained three store-front type meeting places in local neighborhoods in addition to its traditional church. At Temple Methodist, folk music was being used in place of the more traditional hymns.

Because of the personal preference of the Episcopal Bishop of Los Angeles, that denomination's activities were more centralized in and through the diocesan offices than was the case with the other denominations.[48] Nevertheless, the East Los Angeles Parish had a program similar to the other churches in assisting minority groups in organizing self-help community organizations. The Parish was strongly supported and encouraged by the diocesan officials in its program. But in at least one Episcopal Church located in the Negro area, volunteers from other Episcopal churches outside the Negro section were sought and obtained for its summer program.

The activities of these three churches were examples of the means by which the denominations were seeking to make the clergy and the churches a force for integration of the urban complex. The political role that the clergy were fulfilling was primarily as the initiator, organizer, and adviser to groups that through their organizational activities could influence the decision-making process. However, the clergy were also willing to take an

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[48]Bishop Bloy was present at the Deadwyler inquest and at the departure of the Selma marchers.

active part in making known to public officials the Christian ethical position on political issues and administrative problems.

Epilogue

This study of the denominations' secular activities relating to the political process in a modern urban complex has resulted in some interesting conclusions about the importance of their political roles in the community. Their most important role is in serving as an intermediary in bringing people from all the geographical and cultural segments of the area into an integrated community. In such a community all individuals should be able to find a constructive meaning and purpose for their existence. In serving in this capacity as an intermediary the denominations will inevitably be involved in the political issues of the community.

Considerable evidence was accumulated to show that the denominations were in the process of altering their theological approach in order to give themselves a philosophical basis for this type of active role in the community. It appears that for many years the denominational

clergy acted on the conservatives' theological approach concerning man's purpose in the world. According to the conservatives' view of man, his purpose was to seek his salvation as an unredeemed or unredeemable sinner through the institution of the church so that he might achieve the ultimate reward of a future heavenly life. Thus, the purpose of the religious association was to serve as a mediator of a system of rewards for the good who participated in the ritual and life of the church, and of punishment for the evil who did not seek salvation in this manner. Although the concept of the brotherhood of man was given some attention by conservative theologians, the concept of the fatherhood of God--a God who would take care of the faithful, if not always here on earth, at least in the future life--was given the most emphasis.

The liberal theological approach prevalent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gave the denominations a different philosophical basis for their activities from that basis derived from the conservative approach. According to the liberals' approach to theology, everyone, whether a church member or not, could find God; but to some extent the assistance of the church and a Christian background were still needed in the search for personal

redemption and salvation. Apparently, from the disastrous results of the long silence of the denominations on political issues, the liberal approach relied too much on an unfounded hope in man's ability as a rational being to search for and to find the truth about God's plan for the world. Although the Calvinistically oriented denominations with which this liberal theological approach is associated had an activist approach to life in this world, the emphasis was on the individual's attainment of salvation, by whatever means, to the neglect of the spiritual and personal welfare of his fellow citizens in the community.

Now, the denominations are experimenting with an existential theological approach which will give them a new philosophical basis for exercising a significant influence both independently as religious associations and ecumenically on the development of modern society. According to this theological approach, the two traditional goals of the believer, redemption and salvation, are achieved through serving the community and actively judging in line with Judeo-Christian ethics the process of growth and development of the community. The churches and

the clergy have two functions which pertain to the goals of redemption and salvation: first, in their pastoral duties to assist the individual in attaining these goals through their teaching, ritual, and liturgy as these aspects of religious institutions relate to fulfilling the concept of brotherhood in the community; and second, to serve as an organized interest group capable of significantly influencing the authoritative decision-making process toward the goal of an integrated community.

No longer possessing the assurance and complacency that is frequently associated with the attitude and approach of dominant religious associations in a nation or community, the denominations have found it necessary to work together in the search for ways to make the Los Angeles community a more viable and humane one than it is or has been. Unfortunately for the success of their activities, the denominations did not have many allies among the other major religious associations in Los Angeles. Apparently, the liberal and conservative emphasis on individualism and the institution of the church as the means of salvation remained the dominant themes within the other religious bodies. Even in the denominations, particularly

among the laity, these two themes continued to have an influence on their approach to modern urban problems.

The fragmentalized and decentralized power structure in the Los Angeles area also hindered the effectiveness of the denominations' political activities. Religious leaders and their representatives found it difficult to know where and on whom to exercise their influence in order to achieve the goal of an integrated community.

Nevertheless, the denominations, as a group as well as separate religious associations, and some of the denominational churches were actively engaged in various efforts directed toward the achievement of an integrated community. They were meeting with some success despite the obstacles in their way. They were establishing meaningful lines of communication between the various geographical and cultural segments of the area. They were creating means by which interaction between the different groups in the area could be increased, and through various organizational activities they were exercising influence on the authoritative decision-making process both in the Los Angeles community and in other parts of the state.

Many aspects of the political role of the denominations and the denominational clergy have been covered in

this study. Intensive studies of the ecumenical organizational activities of the denominations, such as the Commission on the Church and Race and the Center of Metro Mission Inservice Training would be useful in discerning how these activities have affected the establishment of a political community in the Los Angeles area. Studies of this kind would be valuable in determining the political efficacy of the denominations in regard to their influence on the authoritative decision-making process. Furthermore, studies regarding the replacement of other theological approaches with existential theology in the denominations and other religious associations would also be informative.

In metropolitan areas where numerous kinds of religious associations exist, studies of this kind in regard to other religious associations or groups of associations would be useful in ascertaining what their political influence and role are in the community. Studies of the relationships between the various religious associations and the denominations in regard to political issues and the effectuation of a political community would shed further light on the significance of the political influ-

ence of the religious associations. Whereas this study included only one metropolitan area, comparative studies of several areas in regard to the political role of the religious associations would result in a broader understanding of that role in the modern urban complex.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Religion and Politics Survey

Church_____ ASA_____

Minister_____ Age_____

Location of Church_____ Total_____

I. Supreme Court decisions

A. Since 1940 the Supreme Court has dealt with some important issues relating to Church and State. In general would you approve or disapprove of the following decisions?

1. The decision against non-sectarian prayers in public schools. Approve___ Disapprove___

2. The decision against Bible reading for religious purposes in the public schools. Approve___ Disapprove___

3. The decision in favor of released time for religious instruction away from the public schools. Approve___ Disapprove___

4. The decision against religious instruction by members of the clergy on public school property. Approve___ Disapprove___

5. The decision allowing for the expenditure of public funds for general welfare purposes even though it indirectly benefits private or parochial agencies. Approve___ Disapprove___

6. The decision favoring the Sunday laws of the various States. Approve___Disapprove___

7. The decision against requiring any religious test for public office.
Approve___ Disapprove___

8. The decisions protecting the constitutional rights of members of the Communist Party.
Approve___Disapprove___

9. The decisions declaring separate but equal public facilities unconstitutional.
Approve___ Disapprove___

10. The decision guaranteeing the principle of one man one vote. Approve___ Disapprove___

B. In general would you approve more than you disapprove of the Supreme Court's approach to constitutional questions since 1940?
Approve___ Disapprove___

1. Are there any decisions of the Supreme Court which you would especially endorse?

2. Are there any decisions of the Supreme Court with which you would especially disagree?

II. Proposition Fourteen and the Watts riot.

Now I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to two local political incidents which have attracted nation-wide interest: the passage of Proposition 14 and the Watts riot.

A. Proposition 14

1. Did your denominational board or judicatory take an official position on Proposition 14?
Yes___ No___
What was that position? For___ Against___

2. Did you as an individual clergyman take a

public stand on Proposition 14? Yes___ No___

a. If yes, what was your position?
If no, why not?

b. Do you believe that your position as a clergyman was influential with the members of this church? Yes___No___
Why or why not?

c. Did you perceive that the majority of the members of this church approved or disapproved of Proposition 14?
Approve___ Disapprove___

d. What do you believe was the most important reason for the passage of Proposition 14?

3. If a similar situation arose in the future would you follow a similar procedure to that you took in relation to Proposition 14?
Yes___ No___ How

a. If no, what would you do?

b. If yes, do you believe you would be more influential?

B. Watts riot

1. What do you believe was the single most important cause of the Watts riot?

2. If anything, what do you think the clergy can do to meet the challenge of urbanism in the present day?

3. Do you believe that cooperation on such political issues as Proposition 14 and the poverty programs could lead to greater religious unity among Protestants? Yes__ No__

   a. Would greater cooperation be desirable to achieve political ends?

4. In general do you approve or disapprove of the various efforts of the government to alleviate the economic plight of the underprivileged in the cities?
   Approve___ Disapprove___

   a. Any one or ones in particular?

III. General questions about clergy and politics

Now, I would like to ask you some general questions about the clergy and politics.

1. In your sermons do you ever take a stand on political issues?
   Yes___ frequently__, occasionally__, rarely__.
   No__.

   a. If any, on what specific issues have you taken a position?

2. In your sermons do you ever favor individual national, state, or local political leaders?
   Yes___ frequently__, occasionally__, rarely__.
   No__

   a. If yes, which political leaders?

3. In your personal contacts do you ever favor individual, state, or local political leaders?
   Yes___ frequently__, occasionally__, rarely__.
   No__

a. If yes, which political leaders?

4. In discussions with individual members or at church social gatherings do you ever discuss political issues or leaders/ Yes__ frequently__, occasionally__, rarely__. No___

a. If yes, what political issues?

5. Have you ever contacted a political official about a political question? Yes___ No___

a. If yes, what did you do?

6. Have you ever worked in a political campaign or actively supported a political party or candidate? Yes___ No___

a. If yes, what did you do?

7. Do you consider yourself a Democrat__, Republican__, Independent__?

8. In your opinion are a majority of the members of this church Republicans__, Democrats__, Independents__?

9. Do you believe that this church serves primarily a lower class___, working class___, lower middle class___, middle class___, upper middle class___, upper class___ community?

10. Some Protestant churches have taken a stand in favor of governmental dispensing of birth control information in tax-supported health and welfare agencies. Do you agree with this position? Yes___, No___.

a. If no, why do you disagree?

11. Do you believe that the tax exemption for religious organizations violates the principle of separation of Church and State? Yes___ No___

    a. If no, do you believe that this exemption obligates the Church in any way to the State?

12. Do you believe that it is the function of the clergy to publicly criticize the ends or goals of the state? Yes___ No___

    a. If yes, what is the best method available to the clergy for accomplishing this goal?

13. Do you believe that it is function of the clergy to criticize the means (legislation) by which the state carries out its ends? Yes___ No___

14. In general do you believe that the Protestant work ethic is applicable to modern society? Yes___ No___

    a. If yes, in what way would you say that it is applicable?

15. Would you approve or disapprove of civil disobedience to a law you considered against Christian ethics? Approve___ Disapprove___

    a. If approve, how far would you carry civil disobedience?

16. Do you believe that the multiplicity of local governments in the Los Angeles area has any effect on the ability of the Church to act effectively in regard to the underprivileged groups? Yes___ No___

    If yes, would you favor a regional type government? Yes___ No___

17. Do you approve or disapprove of a union of Protestant Churches in order to have more influence on political and social decisions?
Approve___ Disapprove___

If disapprove, why would you approve?

18. Do you have contacts with the clergy of other denominations toward the goal of union?
Yes___ No___

a. If yes, the clergy of which denomination?

19. Do you approve or disapprove of the American commitment in Viet Nam?
Approve___ Disapprove___

20. Do you approve or disapprove of President Johnson's handling of the Viet Nam situation? Approve___ Disapprove___

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